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**STUDIES**  
**IN**  
**LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE**

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**THE SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY**  
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## THOMAS FORDE'S *LOVE'S LABYRINTH*

BY JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, JR., PH.D.

*Thomas Forde*

Of Thomas Forde little is known<sup>1</sup> save what may be gleaned from his printed works, primarily his *Fænestra in Pectore* (1660), a collection of one hundred and two "familiar letters" addressed to his friends. In his epistle to the reader he explains: "I call this *Packet of Letters Fenestra in Pectore*; Letters being the best *Casements*, whereby men disclose themselves. *Judicium super Brachium*, say the *Physicians*, and I know no better Interpreter of the *Heart*, than the *hand*; especially in *Familiar Letters*, whereby friends mingle souls, and make mutual discoveries *of*, and *to* one another." It is true that the letters give us a good glimpse into Forde's "soul," yet they give us few glimpses into his life. I shall try, nevertheless, to put together all the biographical facts that a

<sup>1</sup> A brief biographical note by Mr. Sidney Lee is given in *The Dictionary of National Biography*.

study of these letters, and of his other works,<sup>2</sup> has yielded.

He was "something related" to John Udal, the well-known Puritan, although, he takes care to inform us, he was "no *heir* to his *opinions*."<sup>3</sup> In 1650, or thereabout, both of his parents were living:<sup>4</sup> he had no brother,<sup>5</sup> and, so far as we may judge, no sisters. In a letter to L.C.L. (p. 53) he tells us that he had never married, and in his subsequent letters (which extend beyond 1657), he gives no evidence of having "won a second-self." When we first see him, about 1647, he is residing in London, and seems to be connected in some way with the publishing trade: his "home" is "in the *Church-yard*."<sup>6</sup> In the British Museum copy of *The Times Anatomized in several characters*, by T. F., London, Printed for W. L., 1647, an early manuscript note describes the author as "T. Ford, servant to Mr. Sam Man."<sup>7</sup> The authenticity of this note is attested by certain letters in *Fænestra in Pectore*: in a communication to "W. L." (= William Leybourne, the printer)<sup>8</sup> Forde discusses the advisability of reprinting "my characters"; moreover, he addresses with great

<sup>2</sup> I have not been able to see *The Times Anatomized*, *Lusus Fortunæ*, or *A Theatre of Wits*.

<sup>3</sup> *Fænestra*, pp. 135-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> See the Catalogue of the British Museum.

<sup>8</sup> *Fænestra*, p. 91.

respect two letters to "Mr. S. M."<sup>9</sup> This person, doubtless, was Samuel Man, a bookseller in London from 1616-74, who had his shop in St. Paul's Churchyard. In 1643 and 1644 he was Warden of the Company of Stationers, and in 1646, 1654, and 1658 he was Master.<sup>10</sup> Probably Forde's connection with Man's book-shop explains the fact that he was so widely read in classical and modern literatures. To one of his friends he writes: "I have read, that one *Philostratus* lived seven yeares in his Tomb, to acquaint himself with Death. Truly, I have conversed above two seven years<sup>11</sup> among the *Dead*, for so are our Authors esteemed; and indeed, our Shops may not unfitly be resembled to a Charnel-house: and there, and thus, have I gotten such a familiaritie with those faithful and unflattering Counsellours."<sup>12</sup> And in presenting "Mr. S. M." with one of his publications (*Lusus Fortunæ*?) he writes: "I have, at length, presumed this into your presence: The

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 76. The letter on p. 16 "To Mr. S. M. at Barbadoes" was, obviously, addressed to another person, apparently a young man, to whom Forde gives much wholesome advice.

<sup>10</sup> See Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers 1641-1667* (The Publications of the Bibliographical Society, 1907).

<sup>11</sup> If this means that Forde had worked in a book-shop for fourteen years, and if he began work at the age of twenty-one, then he must have been born in 1613-15.

<sup>12</sup> *Fanestra*, p. 79.

rather, because I do hereby but return you the Hony, made from the various flowers of your own garden; where, I hope, I have not (as some that do, *Spinas librorum colligere*) weeded books; but crop't their blossomes, and yet left never the less behind."<sup>13</sup> Forde was well-versed in the Latin authors, knew some Greek, and quotes frequently from the Italian. The avidity with which he read is shown clearly in his correspondence, for he is constantly borrowing or returning books.

From his letters, it is obvious that Forde was the author of a number of pamphlets which have not been identified, if indeed they have been preserved.<sup>14</sup> On his title-pages he commonly used his initials instead of his full name, a practice which one of his friends complained of, and which he defended as follows:<sup>15</sup> "Now, to your Why, let me return a Wherefore I have (to use your expression, and who can use better) masked my self under the single letters of *T. F.* that being unknown, I might more freely hear the worlds censure. I remember a facetious tale of a *Frenchman*, that had printed much, concealing his own name: One asking a man that brought his Copies to the press, *Who the Author was?* He said, '*Twas one that*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 46, 60, 61, 62, 66, 68, 82, 89, 100, 102, 120, 140.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

*desired to serve God invisibly.*" Among other "pamphlets" he clearly seems to refer to a volume of letters: "I have sent you a *Pamphlet*, that may serve as a *foyl* to set off *Balzack* [which, having borrowed, he is now returning] the better: Wherein expect neither *Cicero* nor *Seneca*: neither *Howel* nor *Balzack*; neither Learning nor Language; nor any Letters beginning with the ambitious title of *My Lord*, or *Madam*; they are more proud of the name of *Friend*."<sup>16</sup> And to another correspondent he writes:<sup>17</sup> "If you think the Frontispiece discrepant to the following leaves, I shall conform the *printed Title* to the *written Book*, not the *written Book* to the *printed Title*: For I resolve not to change their name, nor alter their property of Familiar Letters, for my *private friends*."<sup>18</sup> Another pamphlet seems to have been on the subject of Friendship.<sup>19</sup>

In several places Forde tells us that he was poor.<sup>20</sup> Yet in a certain "Mr. T. P." he found a "Mecœnus" whose generosity was "a miracle in this Age," and who frequently "cast coyn" "into a shallow Forde."<sup>21</sup> Later Forde cultivated the friendship of another wealthy gen-

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. also pp. 65, 66.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 67.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 93, 95, 103, 120.

tleman, "Mr. D. P.," with such "frequent visits" that "detracting tongues" made of it "scandal, as well as slander." In defending himself Forde wrote to "Mr. D.P.": "'Twas not your *fortune*, but your *favour*, that I have courted; were you as poor as *Codrus*, I should love you *no less* than I do; and were you as rich as *Cræsus*, I could love you *no more*. I conceived myself obliged by my *Profession* to wait upon you as a *Scholar*.'"<sup>22</sup>

Forde was a staunch, even a pious royalist, and most of his friends seem to have been of the same faith. His best friend was Edward Barwick, whom he affectionately addresses as "Honest Ned."<sup>23</sup> I have identified him as, in all probability, Edward, the younger brother of John Barwick (1612-1664) the staunch royalist who for his services to the crown was made Dean of St. Paul's; and of Peter Barwick (1619-1705), Physician in Ordinary to King Charles II. The parents of the Barwicks, although they sent John and Peter to the university, were unable to educate their other sons so well; yet Edward was able to assist his older brothers

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 116.

<sup>23</sup> The identification of the "E. B." of Forde's letters as Edward Barwick is made positive by the anagram (*Fænestra*, p. 38) "Bad, wicked warr. Anagr.," and by the signature "Edw. Barwick" affixed to the commendatory verse in *Love's Labyrinth*. To him Forde addressed nine letters (*Fænestra*, pp. 25, 29, 34, 38, 49, 55, 61, 64, 89), and he refers to him in several other letters.

in the management of the King's correspondence.<sup>24</sup> This perhaps explains why, as we learn in Forde's letters, he was imprisoned and for a time in grave danger of losing his life. Another close friend was C. F. [Flower], a clergyman.<sup>25</sup> The friend addressed as "W. L." ("Will") was, undoubtedly, William Leybourne, the printer and well-known author of books on mathematics.<sup>26</sup> The "J. H." ("Honest Jack") to whom Forde addresses five letters, has been identified as James Howell.<sup>27</sup> Other identifications of Forde's friends might be made, yet these seem representative.

Shortly after the execution of King Charles, Forde left London. It seems possible, both from the nature of his subsequent letters,<sup>28</sup> and from the great amount of sacred verse in his *Fragmenta Poetica*, that he became a clergyman. For a time, at least, he was living "near Maldon" in Essex. During his residence there

<sup>24</sup> Edward Barwick is not entered in the *D. N. B.*, but see under "John Barwick."

<sup>25</sup> To "C. F." Forde addressed twelve letters, (*Fænestra*, pp. 6, 27, 35, 42, 51, 54, 58, 62, 99, 109, 121, 127), and he refers to him in several other letters (*Ibid.*, pp. 15, 32, etc.).

<sup>26</sup> *Fænestra*, pp. 46, 65, 84, 91.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 69, 77, 79, 85. Although this identification is assumed by writers on James Howell, I can discover no real evidence that supports it. Mr. Joseph Jacobs, in his excellent edition of Howell's *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaæ* (vol. ii, p. 686), quotes one of Forde's letters: apparently he was not aware of the others.

<sup>28</sup> *Fænestra*, pp. 127, 130, 133, 138, 145.

he addressed an interesting letter to Thomas Fuller. Since the opportunity of writing on Forde is rare, and since, to use our author's phrase, "Letters" are "the best *Casements*, whereby men disclose themselves," I reprint this letter to give the reader a glimpse into Forde's "breast." It is, I may add, the most interesting of the letters, and contains the largest number of biographical facts.

*To Mr. T. F.*

*Sir,*

Having lately (not without pleasure and profit) read your *Church-History*; by which, you have not only indebted our Church in *particular*, but the whole Common-wealth of Learning in *general*; my memory continually upbraided me with ingratitude, till I found out this way to convey my resentments. For, though our *Returns* of thanks ought to be large and universal, as your merit, yet your goodness (I hope) will not refuse the single gratitude of private persons. In that number (though the last, and the least) I am bold to tender my *mite*. A task indeed better befitting a more equal pen, since none is able to do it but your own. But I know your *modesty* is as great as your *merit*, the *highest* worths being always accompanied with the *lowest* humilitie. May your name ever live, who have rais'd so many to life, and rescued their memories from the tyranny of oblivion. Amongst many others, I am particularly obliged to your courtesie, in the remembrance of that good man Mr. *Udal*, whom by kindred I am something related. One, of whom we have this tradition, that he was the first man King *James* asked for when he came into *England*; and being answered, that he was *dead*, the King (whose judgment was an exact standard of learning & learned



men) reply'd *By my sal, then the greatest Scholar in Europe's dead.* And certainly, by his own party (if they may be admitted for competent Judges) it is not yet resolv'd, whether his *Learning* or his *Zeal* were greatest; and they think they justly boast him a *Confessor*, if not a *Martyr* for that *Cause*, which since hath paid those scores with *Interest*. Now, though I am no *heir* to his *opinions*, yet a small *affinity* to his *Person*, makes me embrace the opportunitie of proffering you that *Intelligence* you complain to want, the rather, because (perhaps) no man can now do it but my self; and I have a *Relation of all his Trials, Censures, and Sentence, written by himself*; which (I doubt not) may give you a satisfactorie account in what you desire. If you please to command it, I shall be ambitious to serve you, and the *truth* therewith. But I could wish you would review that passage in the 31 *Sect.* After the *Execution of Udal, &c.* for he died at the *White-Lyon* (just as his pardon was procured) and was buried at *St. Georges Southwark*. And so I leave him to his Rest, wishing his *good name and doctrines may survive his discipline.* . . . Did I not fore-see that the relation would swell my discourse beyond the *limits* of a *Letter*, or the *length* of your *patience*, I should assume the libertie to inform you, that my neighbourhood to the place, acquaints me with some *Relicks of Religious Houses*, at and near *Maldon*, bearing still the name of an *Abbey, a Friery, and a Nunnery*. And, if we may judge *Hercules* by his foot, of the whole piece by the remnant, and of them by their Remaines, I should suppose them not behind many in *England*. As yet, I know little of them, but their ruines; but, if you vote it convenient, I shall endeavour to improve my present ignorance into a discoverie of them. I suppose it will be no hard task; I am sure it shall not, when in relation to your command. I must now take pitie of your patience, which had not run this hazard of abuse did I not know I have to do with so great a Candor,

from which I can expect no less than *pardon*. And in that presumption I crave your leave to be, as I subscribe my self

*Sir, your most assured servant,*  
T. F.

### *Forde's Published Works.*

Forde published the following works:

(1) The Times anatomiz'd in severall characters. By T. F. Difficile est Satyram non scribere. Juv. Sat. 1. London. Printed for W. L., Anno 1647. [12mo.]

This volume contains thirty characters—"A good King," "A discontented person," "A newter," "A novice-preacher," etc. For a full description of the book, with a reprint of one of the "characters," see Dr. Philip Bliss's edition of Earle's *Microcosmography*. Forde, in his *Familiar Letters* (p. 91), discusses with the printer W[illiam] L[eybourne] the question of reprinting the volume: "Concerning the reprinting of my *Characters*, and augmenting them, I have had some serious thoughts, and the result is this. I find them, upon perusal, not suitable to the present *State*. . . So that I hold it not safe for you to print, or me to enlarge them."<sup>29</sup> This, as well as the manu-

<sup>29</sup> This letter also reveals the fact that Robert Leybourne was the father of William Leybourne. Mr. H. R. Plomer in *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers 1641-1667* (The Publications of the Bibliographical Society, 1907) says that William was "possibly a brother of Robert Leybourne, with whom he was in partnership as a printer from about 1651."

script note on the title-page of the British Museum copy, serves to identify the author as Thomas Forde.

(2) *Lusus Fortunæ*: The Play of Fortune: continually Acted by the severall Creatures on the Stage of the World. Or, A glance at the various mutability, inconstancie, and uncertainty of all earthly things. From a consideration of the present Times. By T. F. Printed for R. L. 1649. [12mo, sixty-four leaves.] This volume consists of essays on "the mutability of all earthly things," illustrated by numerous quotations from the classics and from modern literature.

(3) Five pieces (as described below) in prose and verse, with separate title-pages, and separate pagination, but with continuous signatures. These are sometimes met with as separate publications, the several title-pages bearing the date 1660; and sometimes in a single volume, with a general title-page dated 1661. The ordinary form of this title-page is:<sup>30</sup>

Virtus Rediviva, A Panegyrick on our Late King Charles the I. &c. of ever blessed Memory. Attended, With severall other Poems from the same Pen. Viz. I. A Theatre of Wits: Being a Collection of Apothegms. II. Fœnestra in Pectore; or a Century of Familiar Letters. III. Loves Labyrinth: A Tragi-

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<sup>30</sup> From W. C. Hazlitt's *Third and Final Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes*, 1887.

comedy. IV. *Fragmenta Poetica: Or Poeticall Diversions*. Concluding, with a Panegyrick on His Sacred Majesties most happy Return. By T. F. *Varietas delectat*. London: Printed by R. & W. Leybourn, for William Grantham. . . and Thomas Basset. . . 1661.

In the Harvard University Library, however, is a copy<sup>31</sup> with the following title-page:

A Theatre of Wits, Ancient and Modern. *Attended with severall other ingenious Pieces from the same Pen*. I. *Fænestra in Pectore*, or a Century of Familiar Letters. II. *Loves Labyrinth: A Tragi-comedy*. III. *Fragmenta Poetica: Or Poetical Diversions*. IV. *Virtus Rediviva*, A Panegyrick on our late King Charles of ever blessed Memory. Concluding, with A Panegyrick on His Sacred Majesties most happy Return. By T. F. *Varietas delectat*. London Printed by R. & W. Leybourn, for Thomas Basset, in St. Dunstons Church-yard in Fleet-street. 1661.

I give below a more detailed description of the "severall Pieces."

(a) *Virtus Rediviva*, a prose tract of twenty-seven pages, lauding King Charles in extravagant terms. This is followed by *Oweni Epigr. in Regicidas*, six lines in Latin; *An Elegie on Charls the First, &c.*, sixty lines; *An Anniversary on Charls the First, 1657*, and *Second Anniversary on Charls the First, 1658*, two poems of fifty-six and fifty-eight lines, written on the respective anniversaries of the execution of King Charles.

<sup>31</sup> This copy is from the library of J. Payne Collier, and earlier from the library of Sir Charles Clark.

(b) *Loves Labyrinth*. To be described later.

(c) *A Theatre of Wits*, a collection of apothegms, chosen from Howell's *Familiar Letters*, and from other works.

(d) *Fænestra in Pectore*, a collection of one hundred and two letters, addressed by Forde to his friends, and chosen, it seems, from his actual correspondence. To E. B. (= Edward Barwick) he addresses nine letters; to C. F. (= C. Flower), twelve; to W. L. (= William Leybourne), four; to his father, one; to T. F. (= Thomas Fuller), one; to J. H. (= James Howell?) five; to S. M. (= Samuel Man), two. It is not easy to identify the others. Forde seems to have arranged the letters in a chronological order, and to have eliminated personal details.<sup>22</sup> Most of them are stilted, and remarkably dull. One passage, however, may be quoted for its general interest to the student of the drama. In writing to Edward Barwick, Forde attempts to give the news in the city:<sup>23</sup>

And yet, as if the Tragedie were ended, the Souldiers have routed the Players. They have *beaten* them out of their *Cock-pit*, *baited* them at the *Bull*, and *overthrown their Fortune*. For these exploits, the Alderman (the Anagram of whose name makes *A Stink*) moved in the House, that the Souldiers might have the Players cloaths given them. *H. M.* stood

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. p. 124.

<sup>23</sup> Page 56.

up, and told the Speaker, that he liked the Gentlemen's motion very well, but that he feared they would fall out for the *Fools Coat*.

(e) *Fragmenta Poetica*, twenty-four pages, besides the title-page. The first eleven pages contain sacred poems, *For Christmas Day, On the Nativity, The 25. Cap. of Job Paraphras'd*, etc. The next nine pages contain twenty-six short poems, epigrams, translations, etc., among them *Loves Duel, out of Anacreon*, printed also in *Love's Labyrinth*; a poem on George Herbert, *With Herberts Poeme*; and four epigrams on Thomas Bastard. The last four pages contain a panegyric *Upon His Sacred Majesties most Happy Return, on the 29th of May, 1660*. On page 24 are printed the *Errata* for the entire volume.

*A Bibliographical Description of Love's Labyrinth.*<sup>24</sup>

Love's Labyrinth; | or, | *The Royal Shepherdess* :  
| a | Tragi-Comedie. | By Tho. Forde, *Philothal*. | *Quid Melius desidiosus agam? | Fata viam invenient. | Comica festina gaudet sermone Thalia.* | London, | Printed by R. and W. Leybourn, for William | Grantham, and are to sold at the Signe | of the Black Bear in St. Pauls |

<sup>24</sup> From a copy in the possession of the writer, collated with a copy in the Harvard University Library.

Church-yard. 1660. [Small 8vo, pp. [vi] +72. Signatures V, X-Z, Aa, in eights.]

Page [ii]. Back of title-page, blank.

Pages [iii-iv]. "To his Worthy Friend Mr. *Thomas Forde* on his *LOVES LABYRINTH*," a commendatory poem in eight six-line stanzas, signed "N. C."

Page [v]. "To my ingenious Friend, Mr. *Thomas Forde*, on his *LOVES LABYRINTH*," a commendatory poem of thirty-two iambic pentameter lines, rhyming in couplets, and signed "Edw. Barwick."

Page [vi]. "Persons Personated," a list of the *dramatis personæ*; at the bottom of the page, "*The Scène Arcadia*."

Pages 1-72. The text of the play, without prologue or epilogue, and ending with the word "Finis." The following errors occur in the pagination: "16" for "19"; "49" for "39." The copy in the Harvard University Library has the error of "2" for "32": this error, however, does not occur in my copy.

In general the book is poorly printed, and typographical errors are frequent. At the end of *Fragmenta Poetica* (p. 24) is given a list of Errata for the entire volume. I reprint below that part which refers to the play.<sup>35</sup>

*In Loves Labyrinth, on the title, for festina r, festiva, in the first copy of verses, after out-let r, there,*

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<sup>35</sup> From a copy in the Harvard University Library.

*p*, 3 *l*, 4 *r* ready in, *p*, 3 *l* 9 *r*, volleys *l*, 18 *r*, drops, *p*, 8, *l*, 30 *r*, thou now *p*, 10 *l*, 9 *r*, thou thus, *l*, 15 *r*, wronged, *p*, 11, *l*, 1 *r*, rashness, *l*, *the last*, *r*, mine, *p*, 23 *l*, 12, *r*, be my, *p*, 26 *l*, 20 *r*, too much, *p*, 40 [=29] *l* 4 *r*, shine, *p*, 32 *l*, 27 *r*, grown, *p*, 33 *l*, 9 *r*, can a, *p*, 36 *l*, 9 *r*, her neck, *p*, 48 *l*, *last r*, *empty*, *p*, 54 *l*, 9 *r*, scornes, *p*, 55, *l*, 12 *r*, and, *p*, 56 *l*, 16 *r*, King.

### *General Description of the Play.*

*Love's Labyrinth* seems to have been designed as a closet drama. It has neither prologue nor epilogue, and there is no evidence internal or external of its having been acted. It is written throughout in blank verse, save for the clownish speeches of Doron and Carmela (which, though printed as verse, are prose), and six love lyrics sung by the shepherds. Of Forde's ability as a poet I shall allow the reader to judge for himself. The following celebration of the shepherd's life is, I believe, the best example of his blank verse:

How happy are these shepherds! Here they live  
 Content, and know no other cares, but how  
 To tend their flocks, and please their Mistress best.  
 They know no strife, but that of love; they spend  
 Their days in mirth, and when they end, sweet sleeps  
 Repay and ease the labours of the day.  
 They need no Lawyers to decide their jars;  
 Good herbs and wholesome diet, is to them  
 The only *Æsculapius*; their skill  
 Is how to save, not how with art to kill.  
 Pride and ambition are such strangers here,  
 They are not known so much as by their names.



Their sheep and they contend in innocence  
Which shall excell, the Master or his flocks.  
With honest mirth, and merry tales they pass  
Their time, and sweeten all their cares.  
Whilst Courts are fill'd with waking, thoughtful strife,  
Peace and Content do crown the shepherds life.

Two additional quotations will illustrate sufficiently the character of his blank verse:

*Men.* Ah, cruel love! whose music is compos'd  
Of Lover's jars and discords, mixt with sighs!  
If I turn traytor once more unto love,  
I'll rob him of his deitie, and pull  
His little Kingdom down; I'll pull his wings,  
And with the quills made into pens, and dipt  
In saddest lovers' tears, instead of ink,  
I'll satires write against his tyrannie.

I do hate  
A luke-warm love: give me a love flames high,  
As it would reach the element of fire,  
From whence it came; a low and creeping flame  
Befits a chimney, not a lover's breast.  
Give me a love dare undertake a task  
Would fright an *Hercules* into an ague,  
A love dare tempt the boldest fate, and die  
An honour'd captive, or bold conqueror.  
Give me a daring, not a whining love,  
A love grows great with opposition,  
A love that scorns an easie task—things great  
And noble always are most difficult.  
This is the love (blind *Cupid*) I would have,  
A love that brings home trophies, or a grave.

But Forde is at his best in his lyrics. The shepherd Menaphon sings:

Fond Love, no more  
 Will I adore  
     Thy feigned deity.  
 Go throw thy darts  
 At simple hearts,  
     And prove thy victory.

Whilst I do keep  
 My harmless sheep,  
     Love hath no power on me:  
 'Tis idle souls  
 Which he controlls;  
     The busie man is free.

After having seen the beautiful shepherdess,  
 Samela, however, Menaphon sings:

No more, no more,  
 Fond Love give o're;  
     Dally no more with me.  
 Strike home, and bold,  
 Be hot, or cold,  
     Or leave thy deitie. . .

And finally to the fair shepherdess he pipes:

Why so nice and coy, fair Lady,  
 Prithee why so coy?  
 If you deny your hand and lip  
     Can I your heart enjoy? . . ."

The playwright, too, gives us a translation of Anacreon's *The Duel*. This was rendered by Thomas Stanley in 1651, and by Abraham Cowley in 1656; yet Forde's translation, I believe, is by far the most pleasing.

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" Obviously imitated from Suckling's *Aglaure* iv, 1:

Why so pale and wan, fond lover?  
 Prithee, why so pale?

## LOVE'S DUEL.

Cupid all his arts did prove,  
To invite my heart to love;  
But I always did delay  
His mild summons to obey,  
Being deaf to all his charms.  
Straight the god assumes his Arms.  
With his bow and quiver, he  
Takes the field to duel me.  
Armed like Achilles, I,  
With my shield alone, defie  
His bold challenge. As he cast  
His golden darts, I as fast  
Catch'd his arrows in my shield,  
Till I made him leave the field.  
Fretting, and disarmed then,  
The angry god returns agen,  
All in flames; 'stead of a dart,  
Throws himself into my heart.  
Useless I my shield require  
When the fort is all on fire.  
I in vain the field did win;  
Now the enemy's within.  
Thus betray'd, at last I cry,  
"Love, thou hast the victory!"

*Source—Gomersall's "Sforza."*

Langbaine, in his *Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691), says: "Part of this Play is stollen from *Gomersal's Tragedy of Sforza Duke of Millain.*" This statement has been repeated by almost every subsequent writer on the play, and has been generally interpreted as meaning that Forde borrowed from *Sforza* a part of the plot. Thus Professor Schelling (*Elizabethan Drama* ii, 177) says: "I cannot see

what causes Halliwell-Phillipps to find any resemblance between *Love's Labyrinth* and Gomersall's *Sforza*, a drama of totally different type." A careful examination of *Sforza* shows that in plot Forde was not indebted to this tragedy for one jot or tittle; however, he was indebted to Gomersall for some twenty odd lines of text, filched without important change from act i, scene 1, of *Sforza*. The stolen lines (*Love's Labyrinth* i, 5, p. 14) are:

*King.* Why weeps my dear?

*Art.* Ask why I do not weep.

(Poor *Artaxia*) are my tears denied me!

Ask why I do not rave, tear my hair thus,

Why such a weight of sorrow doth not rob

So much of woman from me, as complaints!

Or rather, why do I not cloud the skie

With sighs; till at the last with one bold stab

My own hand take from insulting fortune,

This miserable object of her sport.

Ask why I do not this, not why I weep!

*Kin.* Or stint thy tears, or mingle mine with them,

By a relation of their cause; these eyes,

Trust me *Artaxia*, are not yet drawn dry,

Nor hath strong sorrow e're exhausted them,

To make them bankrupt of a friendly tear,<sup>37</sup>

But not a fond one. Why *Artaxia*!

Why dost thou hasten those that come too fast,

Sorrow and age?

The following is the passage in *Sforza*.<sup>38</sup> It will be observed that Forde's transcript is much inferior.

<sup>37</sup> Here has been dropped the line, "Doe thou but prove it once a friendly tear," to the injury of the sense.

<sup>38</sup> I have copied from the second edition (in *Poems by*

*Gal.* Why weeps my Deare?

*Isab.* Aske why I do not weep:

(Poor *Isabella* are thy teares deni'd thee?)

Aske why thus long such a succession

Of sorrow clogs my bosome, and does rob

So much of Woman from me, as complaints.

Aske why I doe not rave, teare my haire, thus,

Create a grief, which Fate would spare me, then

Cloud the sad Ayre with sighes, and at the last,

With a bold stab take from insulting Fortune

The miserable object of her sport:

Aske why I do not this, not, why I weepe.

*Gal.* Or stint thy teares, or mingle them with mine

By a relation of their cause: these eyes,

Trust me, my *Isabella*, are not dry,

Nor has strong sorrow ere exhausted them,

To make them bancrout of a friendly teare.

Doe thou but prove it once a friendly tear

And not a fond one. Why, my *Isabella*,

Why dost thou hasten those that come too fast,

Sorrow, and Age?

In two careful readings of *Sforza* I have not been able to discover any further borrowing on the part of Forde. The passage quoted above is, I believe, the specific theft that Langbaine had in mind.

*Source—Greene's "Menaphon."*

A manuscript note in the British Museum copy of *Love's Labyrinth* gives the real source of the play—Greene's *Menaphon*. Forde has reproduced *Menaphon* slavishly, not only in

*Robert Gomersall*, London, 1633), of which the publisher says: "If ever it were worthy the reading, now the worth of it is multiplied, the whole being perused by the author." The first edition (1628) is not accessible to me.

plot, but also, to a large extent, in language. For the purpose of comparing the two, both in plot and in language, the reader is referred to *Love's Labyrinth*, pp. 39-41, and *Menaphon*,<sup>39</sup> pp. 47-8. For those, however, who do not have access to the play I submit an example of how Forde ingeniously turns the prose of Greene into blank verse.

*Love's Labyrinth*, p. 21:

When heavens frown,  
I think upon my faults, and a clear sky  
Puts me in mind of the gods gracious love.  
Envie o're-looketh me, nor do I gaze  
So high as tall ambition: and for love,  
I feed myself with fancies such as these:  
*Venus* (the Poets say) sprang from the sea,  
Which notes to me th' inconstancy of love,  
Changing each day with various ebbs and tides,  
Sometimes o're-flowing the banks of fortune  
With a gracious look from a lover's eyes,  
Ebbing at other times to th' dangerous shelf  
Of cold despair, from a Mistris frowns.  
Your *Cupid* must be young, to shew  
He is a boy; his wings inconstance tell;  
He's blind, to note his aim is without rule  
Or reason's guide. Such is the god ye serve.

This is a mosaic of passages taken from *Menaphon*, p. 24. I group the passages in the order in which Forde has used them.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Here, and throughout this essay, I quote from Arber's reprint of *Menaphon* (*The English Scholar's Library*, 1880).

When thou seest the heauens frowne thou thinkest on thy faults, and a cleere skie putteth thee in mind of grace. . . . Enuie ouerlooketh thee. . . . Thine eyes are vaylde with content that thou canst not gaze so high as ambition: and for loue. . . . *Venus* was feigned by the Poets to spring of the froathe of the Seas; which draue him straight into a deepe coniecture of the inconstancie of Love, that, as if *Luna* were his load-starre, had everie minute ebbs and tides, sometime ouerflowing the banks of Fortune with a gracious look lightened from the eyes of a fauorable loue, otherwhiles ebbing to the dangerous shelve of despaire, with the piercing frowne of a froward Mistresse. . . . *Cupide* must be yong and euer a boy to prooue that loue is fond and witlesse, wings to make him inconstant. . . . blinde (or all were not worth a pinne) to prooue that *Cupid*es leuell is both without aime and reason: thus is the God, and such are his Votaries.

Verbal borrowing of this nature is common throughout the play.

In plot Forde has departed in no important way from Greene's story, although he has omitted some details. He employs the same characters, and the same names, with one exception—Olympia is changed to Euryphilia. Since this change in name is accompanied by a slight change in character, I suspect that Forde was here drawing from some other source. He has omitted two of the most effective and dramatic incidents, the oracle, and the single combat between father and son. For the omission of the first I can suggest no reason; the second seems to have been suppressed along with other details at the end.

*Analysis of the Plot.*

I give below an analysis of the plot by scenes and include in brackets the passages in *Menaphon* which constitute the source.

I. 1. Damocles, King of Arcadia, discovering that his daughter, Sephestia, has married secretly, and has given birth to a child, raves with anger. Two lords plead for her, and the king's brother, Lamedon, interposes in her behalf, but to no avail. The king orders Sephestia, her husband, and her child to be set adrift on the sea in an open boat without sail or oar. [These events precede the story in *Menaphon*, but are clearly enough suggested.]

I. 2. Sephestia enters, and is informed by the two lords of the king's sentence. Lamedon decides to accompany her. [Suggested in *Menaphon*.]

I. 3-4. The husband, Maximus, enters and is informed by Sephestia of the sentence. The king enters in a towering rage. Maximus reveals his high birth as Prince of Cyprus, but the king is not appeased. A lord announces that the boats are ready, and the victims are taken out. [Suggested in *Menaphon*.]

I. 5. The queen, lamenting the loss of her only child, Sephestia, stabs herself. [*Men.* p. 70.] A lord informs us that the land is infected with woes and miseries. [*Men.* p. 21.] The king, after offering to stab himself, orders a council to be summoned. [*Men.* p. 21.]



II. 1. The shepherd, Menaphon, inveighs against love [*Men.* p. 16, *Sonetto*], and sings a song on the theme [*Men.* p. 25]. A clownish shepherd, Doron, enters, and reproaches Menaphon for scorning the love of the shepherdess, Pensana. [Suggested in *Menaphon*.]

II. 2. Maximus "enters shipwrecked," laments the loss of Sephestia, and resolves to live as a shepherd under the name "Melecertus." [Suggested in *Menaphon*.]

II. 3. Doron and Carmela engage in clownish love-making. [*Men.* pp. 85-88.]

II. 4. To the love-sick Doron, Menaphon delivers an invective against love. [*Men.* pp. 24-6.]

II. 5. Sephestia and Lamedon "enter shipwrecked." Sephestia decides to disguise herself as a shepherdess, and adopts the name "Samela." [*Men.* pp. 26-31.]

II. 6. Menaphon enters to them, and invites them to his cottage. [*Men.* pp. 31-33.]

II. 7. Doron and Carmela engage in clownish love-making. [*Men.* pp. 85-88.]

II. 8. Menaphon, having fallen in love with Samela, repents his former invectives against love. Samela enters, and Menaphon praises the shepherd's life. [*Men.* pp. 33-5.]

III. 1. Two pirates, Romanio and Eurilochus, present to Agenor, King of Thessaly, a young boy, Plusidippus (Sephestia's child), whom they

have found on the shore of Arcadia. [*Men.* pp. 57-61.]

III. 2. Menaphon, burning with love for Samela, expresses himself in song. Doron overhearing, laughs. Samela enters, and Menaphon begins a courtship. [*Men.* pp. 37-40.]

III. 3. Melecertus and Doron discuss the beauty of Samela, and Doron undertakes to describe her. [*Men.* pp. 40-43.]

III. 4. King Damocles is repentant. [No direct source in *Menaphon*, but cf. p. 23.]

III. 5. Melecertus and Samela meet each other at a festival of the shepherds. [*Men.* pp. 44-9.]

III. 6. Melecertus soliloquizes on his love for Samela. [*Men.* p. 49.]

III. 7. Pensana discusses her ill treatment at the hands of Menaphon. [*Men.* p. 50.]

III. 8. Lamedon soliloquizes on the pleasures of a shepherd's life. [Suggested in *Menaphon*.]

IV. 1. Agenor, King of Thessaly, urges his daughter, Euryphilia, to accept Plusidippus for a husband. [*Men.* p. 69.]

IV. 2. Euryphilia offends Plusidippus, and he announces his intention to "seek the world through for a worthier mistress." [*Men.* 67-70.]

IV. 3. Menaphon is rejected by Samela, and turns her out of his cottage. [*Men.* 62-64.]

IV. 4. Plusidippus declares that he cannot rest until he has seen the beautiful Arcadian

shepherdess, whose fame has spread over the world. [*Men.* pp. 67-70.]

IV. 5. Samela informs her uncle of Menaphon's harsh treatment. Lamedon purchases for her a cottage and a flock of sheep. [*Men.* p. 64.]

IV. 6. Menaphon, while lamenting his unhappy love for Samela, is visited by the rejected Pensana. [*Men.* pp. 64-7.]

IV. 7. King Agenor, of Thessaly, unable to keep Plusidippus from visiting Arcadia, gives him permission to go. Euryphilia presents him with a "favour." [*Men.* pp. 69-70.]

IV. 8. King Damocles, having in his old age become wanton, steals away to Arcadia to view the beautiful shepherdess there. [*Men.* pp. 70-71.]

IV. 9. Samela yields to the love of Melecertus. [*Men.* pp. 50-55.]

V. 1. King Damocles, disguised as an old shepherd, and Plusidippus, as a wandering young knight, meet on the plains of Arcadia. Samela enters; Plusidippus makes love; she rejects him. [*Men.* pp. 71-72.]

V. 2. Plusidippus captures Samela and turns her over to the supposed old shepherd for safe-keeping. Damocles, revealing to Samela his rank, makes suit for her hand. She recognizes him as her father and repels his love. [*Men.* pp. 72-73.]

V. 3. Plusidippus, now having Samela in his

power, renews his suit, and again is rejected. [*Men.* p. 73.]

V. 4. King Damocles sends secretly to court for soldiers. [*Men.* p. 83.]

V. 5. Samela soliloquizes on her hard lot. [*Men.* p. 84.]

V. 6. Doron and Carmela engage in clownish love-making. [*Men.* pp. 85-8.]

V. 7. Menaphon betrays Melecertus into the hands of Damocles. [No source in *Menaphon.*]

V. 8. The scene shifts to the court. King Damocles has in his power Samela, Plusidippus, and Melecertus. Samela still refuses the King's offer of marriage. He draws his sword to kill Melecertus, whereupon Samela discloses her identity; Melecertus, in joy, reveals himself as Maximus; Plusidippus, discovering his birth, embraces his parents; the faithful uncle, Lamedon, returns; and all ends happily. [*Men.* pp. 89-92.]

### *History of the Menaphon Story.*

Since no one, so far as I am aware, has undertaken to give a history of the Menaphon story, I shall attempt to point out briefly its sources, and its several versions up to the appearance of *Love's Labyrinth*.

The story, I believe, may be traced back to *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*. According to

this poem, Athelwold, King of England, upon his deathbed leaves his only daughter, Goldborough, to the guardianship of Earl Godrich with the instruction that he marry her to the tallest, fairest, and strongest man in England. Immediately the treacherous Earl begins to plot against his ward. In the course of time Havelok, heir to the Danish throne, though unaware of his high birth, secures employment in the Earl's kitchen. He is tall, fair, and noted through the country for his wonderful strength. The scheming Earl, pretending to follow her father's instruction, forces Goldborough to wed Havelok, for by thus marrying her to a base kitchen knave, he hopes to be permanently rid of her. In the end Havelok's identity is discovered, his throne is restored to him, Earl Godrich is burned at the stake, and Goldborough is proclaimed Queen of England.

In the Anglo-French version of the story by Geffrei Gaimar, the king is called "Adelbricht"; Goldborough is called "Argentile"; Earl Godrich is called "Edelsie"; and in another Anglo-French version, *Le Lai d'Havelok*, Havelok is given the surname "Cuaran."<sup>40</sup> These are the names employed by William Warner in his pretty and popular version of the story in *Al-*

<sup>40</sup> It is beyond the scope of this paper to trace the sources of *The Lay of Havelok*, or to give the numerous later versions of the story.

*bion's England*, book iv, ch. xx.<sup>41</sup> Not content with the narrative as he found it in Caxton's *Chronicle*, Warner moulded it to suit his fancy. With the license of the literary artist, he turned the bare facts of history into a pastoral romance of love, the most beautiful, perhaps, in his long poem. The following is a brief outline of the metamorphosed story:

King Adelbright, upon his deathbed, intrusted his only child, the princess Argentile, to the guardianship of her uncle, King Edel. At once King Edel began to plot against his niece, in order to secure the entire kingdom for himself. She grew up to be "the fairest lady under heaven," and the fame of her beauty spread far. Her scheming uncle, however, kept her mewed up from all suitors. Finally, "by chance one Curan, son unto a prince in Danske, did see the maid, with whom he fell in love as much as one might be." By disguising himself as a kitchen drudge he secured access to the princess, revealed his high birth, "and did his love bewray." King Edel, having discovered the infatuation of the kitchen knave, urged the suit upon Argentile, for by such an ignoble match he hoped to dispose effectively of his niece's claim to the throne. But Argentile, understanding the plot of her uncle, fled secretly from the court and took up a secluded life among the

<sup>41</sup> The names, as well as the incident, came down to Warner through *The Brute* and Caxton's *Chronicle*.

shepherds. "When Curan heard of her escape, the anguish in his heart was more than much," and forgetful of his birth, his country, and his friends, he also fled to the fields and took up a solitary life among the shepherds. Here, by chance, Curan and Argentile met; but in their "shepherd weeds" they did not recognize each other. "Then began a second love, the worser of the twaene."

And whilst his py-bald cur did sleep  
And sheep-hook lay him by  
On hollow quills of oten straw  
He piped melody.

In urging his suit he praised the contented life of the shepherd, and he portrayed his mistress in a "descending description." The fair shepherdess could not resist his second courtship. In the end the identity of the lovers was discovered, and they returned to court, where they lived "long reigning in renowne."

Warner's story, I believe, was the source of Greene's pastoral romance, *Menaphon*. *Albion's England* appeared in 1586, *Menaphon* in 1589; in all probability, therefore, Greene was familiar with Warner's poem. Francis Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598), gives us some notion of Warner's great reputation among his contemporaries: "So the English tongue is mightily enriched and gorgeously invested in rare ornaments and resplendent abiliments by Sir Philip Sydney, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow, and Chapman."

A more apt quotation would be Thomas Nash's "To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities," prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon*: "As Poetrie hath beene honoured in those her fore-named professours, so it hath not beene any whit disparaged by *William Warners* absolute *Albions*. And heere Authoritie hath made a full point." In *Menaphon*, of course, the story is modified and greatly elaborated; yet Greene seems to have needed for his novels little more than a suggestion of plot.

It is interesting to note, too, that *Menaphon* in many particulars resembles *Pandosto*, a pastoral romance published by Greene in the preceding year. In elaborating Warner's story, Greene seems to have made free use of the material he had previously employed in *Pandosto*; for example, the birth of a child, the setting of the child adrift in a small boat, the rearing of the child in a foreign country, the marriage of the child to the heir of the throne, the oracle from Delphos, the incestuous love of the aged father for his daughter. In some minor features, too, the similarity is striking. Thus in *Pandosto* there is a festival of the shepherds, "whither Fawnia was also bidden as the mistress of the feast"; in *Menaphon*<sup>42</sup> there is, likewise, a fes-

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of the sources of *Pandosto*, see *Englische Studien*, vol. ii, p. 141, in which Caro traces certain features of the story to actual events in the history of Poland and Bohemia.



tival of shepherds, attended by Samela, "and for that she was a stranger, they graced her to make her the mistress of the Feast." In both novels the lovers meet as a result of this festival. The love of the father for the daughter, too, is handled alike in both stories. "Pandosto, contrary to his aged years, began to be somewhat tickled with the beauty of Fawnia, in so much that he could take no rest, but cast in his old head a thousand new devices": "He [Democles], although he were an olde colt, yet had not cast all his wanton teeth, which made him under the brute of beeing sicke of a grievous appoplexie, steale from his Court secretly in the disguise of a shepheard, to come and seek out *Samela*." It would be interesting to trace in full the parallelisms in the two novels. My purpose, however, is merely to show that Greene, in expanding the story told by Warner, made liberal use of the story told in *Pandosto*, and that the two stories together may be considered an adequate source for *Menaphon*.

The next person to handle the theme was William Webster, who in 1617 published

The most pleasant and delightful Historie of Curan, a Prince of Danske, and the fayre Princess Argentile, Daughter and Heyre to Adelbright, sometime King of Northumberland. Shewing His first Loue vnto her, his successlesse suits, and the low deiections he underwent for her sake. His second Loue to the same Lady unknowne, taking her for a poore Countrie Damsell. She (by reason of the vnkindnesse of

King Edell her vnkle and Gardian) hauing forsooke the Court, and vndertooke the profession of a Neatherdes Mayde. His constant loue (after her long continued unkindnes) rewarded with her wished consent, their happie Nuptials, and mutuall reioy-cings, his valour and victorious warre with King Edell. And lastly his peacefull installment in the Kingly Throne. Enterlacte with many pritty and pithie prayses of beauty, and other amorous discourses, pleasing, smooth and delightfull.<sup>45</sup>

This is a poem in six-line stanzas, occupying thirty-two quarto leaves. I have not been able to examine a copy,<sup>46</sup> yet from the title I judge that it follows closely the story as told by Warner. "It is much expanded," says Collier;<sup>47</sup> "the incidents are related in more detail, and the speeches of the persons given at greater length."

In Thomas Evans's *Old Ballads*<sup>48</sup> is printed "A song of the strange lives of two young princes of England, who became shepherds on Salisbury plain, and were afterwards restored to their former estates." As Collier pointed out,<sup>49</sup> this long ballad of 192 lines is "an impu-

<sup>45</sup> Haslitt's *Hand-Book*, p. 647.

<sup>46</sup> So far as I can discover, there is only one copy in existence. The last reference I can find to it is in the catalogue of Heber's sale, 1836; his copy, which cost him £15 15s, sold for £4 10s. It is not in the British Museum, nor in the Bodleian Library.

<sup>47</sup> *Poetical Decamerone*, i, 265.

<sup>48</sup> Ballad no. 77. Evans was not aware of its source, nor does he suggest for it any date.

<sup>49</sup> *Poetical Decamerone*, i, 265.

dent plagiarism from Warner." The names are changed (thus Argentile becomes 'Maudlin,' and Curan, 'Raymund'), but the metre is the same, and the language, in general, is taken without change, or with little change, from Warner's poem. Besides altering the names, the writer of the ballad showed no originality.

The next version of the story is found in *The Thracian Wonder*, a pastoral comedy based directly on Greene's *Menaphon*. Although not printed until 1661, it is a much older play, described on the title-page as having been "several times Acted with great Applause." Mr. Fleay tries to identify it with *War Without Blows and Love Without Suit* (1598); the evidence, however, is too slight for serious consideration.<sup>48</sup> The publisher, Francis Kirkman, attributed it, incorrectly, it seems, to John Webster and William Rowley. For a full discussion of the relation of the play to *Menaphon* the reader is referred to an article by the present writer, in *Modern Philology*, iii, 317-25.

Finally, Thomas Forde dramatised the story in *Love's Labyrinth*.

#### *Relation to "The Thracian Wonder."*

Forde, I believe, knew nothing at all of *The Thracian Wonder*; certainly he borrows nothing

<sup>48</sup> *Biog. Chron. of the Eng. Drama*, i, 287.

from it. At the time his *Love's Labyrinth* was issued from the press, *The Thracian Wonder* existed as a manuscript in the possession of Francis Kirkman, the bookseller, and was not printed until the following year.

Nevertheless it is interesting to observe how the two dramatists, working independently, met the difficulty of starting the play from the bare suggestions thrown out by Greene. The more striking similarities in the introductory scenes—those scenes which precede the story as told in *Menaphon*—I have noted as follows: (1) the play opens with the raging of the king against his daughter; (2) two lords intercede in her behalf; (3) the king issues an order to set the guilty ones adrift in a boat; (4) Maximus declares that the king shall not touch Sephestia; (5) Maximus reveals his high birth, yet this does not allay the king's wrath; (6) Maximus urges the king to punish him alone, and allow Sephestia to escape all harm; (7) Sephestia urges the king to punish her alone, and allow Maximus to escape all harm; (8) this serves only to increase the fury of the king, who immediately orders his sentence put into execution. A comparison of the two plays will reveal minor similarities, which, for lack of space, cannot be noted here.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The comparison with *The Thracian Wonder* suggests also a comparison with *The Winter's Tale*. So far as I can discover, however, Forde did not at any time have Shakespeare's play in mind.

*Miscellaneous Notes.*

In my study of *Love's Labyrinth* I have jotted down occasionally textual and other notes. The reader may pass these by; I have included them in the hope that they may prove of service to any one who in the future may attempt to edit the play.

Page [i]. The title, *Love's Labyrinth*, may have been suggested by the following passage in *Menaphon* (p. 74): "Democles plunged thus in a Laborinth of restless passions."

L. 6. *Philothal*. Mr. Sidney Lee, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, explains this as an abbreviation of "Philo-thalassios," a lover of the sea. There is no evidence, however, that Forde had ever seen the sea: indeed, in his *Fænestra in Pectore* (p. 78) he tells us that he had never travelled, and expresses "wonder not at those that go to Sea once, but at those that go again." May not the abbreviation be for "Philo-Thalia," a lover of poetry? This finds some support in the Latin phrase quoted below the name: "Comica festiva gaudet sermone Thalia."

L. 7. The phrase

Quid melius desidiosus agam?

is taken from Martial, *Epigrams*, viii, 3, 12:

Dic mihi, quid melius desidiosus ages?

Page [iv], l. 25. It seems impossible to identify the "N. C." who signs the first commendatory poem. If the person appears in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, he must have been Nathaniel Crew (1633-1722), fifth son of John Crew, of Stene, a gentleman of some fortune. Nathaniel entered Oxford in 1652, proceeded B. A. in 1656, and was elected fellow of his college. In 1661 his father was made Baron Crewe of Stene, in recognition of services rendered the royalists. There is nothing, however, to connect Nathaniel Crew with the "N. C." of this commendatory poem, save his age, and his alliance with the royalists. In *Fænestra in Pectore*, Forde addressed a letter to "Mr. N. C." (p. 13).

Page [v], ll. 31-2. This second commendatory poem contains the following reference to Ben Jonson:

Proceed, then, Worthy Friend, and may thy Fame,  
Like *Laureat Johnson*, ever speak thy Name.

L. 33. *Edw. Barwick*: For the identification of this person, see *ante*.

Page 1, l. 8: "Yet shot she not at rovers," etc. Cf. *Fænestra in Pectore*, p. 45: "The rest, not concluding you aymed at them in *particular*, since you onely shot at Rovers in the *general*."

Page 3, ll. 33-34—page 4, l. 1. Read as follows:

Than do't. What heir shall [then] succeed your self  
In the Arcadian Diadem, if thus  
You drown the Sun of all our hopes, which must

Page 6, l. 4. Read as follows:

Thus are we taught the value of the light.

Page 9, l. 30. Read as follows:

Can boast of: [for] 'tis thee alone I value,

Page 10, l. 1. Read as follows:

Unto the fury of [the] winds and waves.

Page 11, ll. 8-10. The following lines reflect the politics of Forde:

Although he be a King, which sacred name  
I reverence, and as a mortal god  
Adore, he shall not dare to injure you.

Cf. also page 13, ll. 5-8:

the commands of kings are not  
To be gain-said, or broken; for the will  
Of heaven is obey'd in doing them.

Page 12, ll. 28-29. Read as follows:

No, as ye have joyn'd your selves in mirth, so will  
I joyn ye too in mourning; and because

Ll. 29-31. Cf. *Fænestra in Pectore*, p. 49:  
"And because two make no musick, we engaged  
two or three other *Consorts*, to compleat our  
‡ *Harmony*."

Page 13, ll. 19-20:

Whilst that we prove our selves loves Confessors.  
If not his Martyrs.—

Cf. *Fænestra in Pectore*, p. 136: "They think  
they justly boast him a *Confessor*, if not a  
*Martyr* for that Cause."

Page 15, ll. 8–9. Read as follows:

Ah cruel justice! Justice? No! Tyranny  
This is.

Page 17, ll. 16–17. *A pies on her*: (1) a pun on the name "Pesana"; (2) an imprecation of unexplained origin. See *N. E. D.* under "pize."

Page 20, l. 33. *Loth to depart* is the name of the song referred to by Doron.

Page 22, ll. 11–14. These lines are made up from "Menaphon's Song" (*Menaphon*, p. 26) by selecting the last two lines of each stanza.

L. 18. For *Scæn. 3* read *Scæn. 5*.

L. 29. For *drownd* read *drowned*.

Page 23, l. 12. Read as follows:

The cypress grove shall be [my] Joynter, where  
Joynter = jointer = jointure.

Page 25, ll. 31–32. Cf. *Fænestra in Pectore*, p. 53: "For though I have hitherto been an *Atheist* to *female* love."

Page 26, l. 2. Read as follows:

Furrow[ing] her cheeks with cruel strife.

Page 27, l. 19. For *When I as* read *Whenas I?*

Ll. 28–30. Forde introduces his translation of Anacreon's *The Duel* with the following words:

As once of old  
Heserv'd the merry Greek *Anacreon*;  
Whose fancie fits my fortune: Here it is.



Forde, doubtless, received the suggestion from *Menaphon* (p. 24): "*Menaphon* in this browne studie, calling to minde certaine Aphorismes that Auarreon [*sic*] had pend downe." But Greene does not give more than the bare suggestion. Since Forde has included the poem in his *Fragmenta Poetica*, he may have had the translation already in hand, and have inserted it in the play at the suggestion of Greene. A collation of the poem with the version in *Fragmenta Poetica* (p. 16) shows the following variants:

Line 10:

With my shield and spear defie

Line 16:

Th' angry god returns agen,

Line 24:

Love! th' hast got the victory.

Page 29, ll. 10-13:

May I presume

To crave your name, and to enquire how  
Hard-hearted fortune could be so unjust,  
To injure innocence? Signe she is blind.

Read the last phrase, *a signe she's blind?*

Page 32. *Menaphon's* soliloquy is thoroughly out of keeping with his character as conceived by Greene, and as portrayed elsewhere in this play. The soliloquy is introduced merely to

give occasion for the song. Perhaps Forde is here borrowing from some other writer.

Page 33, l. 9. *In love*, read *A love?*

L. 30. For *Carmela*, read *Samela*.

Page 34, ll. 19-21. The following lines are attractive:

How now, *Menaphon*! I'm afraid thou wilt  
Be a beggar shortly, thou art a Poet already—  
One of the thred-bare crew, that ragged regiment!

Page 36, ll. 19-20. Doron, the clownish shepherd, is made a mouthpiece for the following pun:

I had it out of an old book of  
My brother Moron's; they call 'm  
Rogue-mances, I think.

This echoes not only the sound of the word, but the Puritan sentiment against romances: it does not, I believe, have any reference to the picaresque novel.

Page 54, ll. 19-24. The song is from *Menaphon*, p. 64.

# GEORGE MEREDITH IN AMERICA

## A COMMENT AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY ELMER JAMES BAILEY, PH.D.

### I. A COMMENT.

As Carlyle, Browning, Tennyson, and Meredith successively died, the assertion was made of each that true appreciation of his work began in America. In the case of the first three, no resentment seems to have been aroused in England; certainly no counter-statement was forthcoming. It was otherwise with Meredith. The English reviews warmly resented the allegations of the American claimants, and insisted that there never was a time when English enthusiasm for the last Victorian novelist of importance was not far in excess of the admiration felt or expressed on this side of the Atlantic. To hold a brief for either party, or to act as judge in the suit might give some intellectual pleasure; but beyond that, would do nothing. Yet it may be wise to appeal directly to Cæsar. Meredith, we have it recorded many times by as many different visitors to Boxhill, was always ready to give cordial greeting to American

callers, never allowing one to depart without assuring him that he himself had received his chief encouragement from his readers and reviewers in the United States.

There is interest in asking when this encouragement began and how rapid was its growth. In the first fifteen years of Meredith's literary career, beginning with the appearance of *Chilianwallah* in the issue of *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* for July 7, 1844, and ending with the publication of *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* in 1859, there was not, apparently, a single word referring to Meredith in any American periodical. Yet in England, William Michael Rossetti and Charles Kingsley favorably reviewed the *Poems* of 1851; George Eliot wrote at length in *The Leader*, of *The Shaving of Shagpat*, and somewhat more briefly, in *The Westminster Review*, of both that book and its successor *Farina*; finally the conservative London *Times* printed almost three columns of comment upon Meredith's first novel. In the face of these facts we cannot very strongly uphold the contention that Meredith gained his first recognition in this country. Indeed, until late in 1860 he was probably unknown to American readers.

Between February 11, 1860 and October 13 of the same year, the English *Once a Week* published as its leading piece of fiction Meredith's second novel under the title *Evan Har-*

*rington; or He would be a Gentleman*. Early in the following year Messrs. Bradbury, Evans, and Company brought out the work in three volumes with a number of changes in readings and without the sub-title. This, however, was not the first edition of the novel; that appeared in this country from the press of Messrs. Harper and Brothers, late in 1860. By what arrangement with the author, the American firm published the book, it seems impossible now to learn. This, at least, is certain: save that forty illustrations by Charles Keene were not reproduced, the edition published in New York is an exact reprint of the story as it appeared in serial form—errors, sub-title, and all. How the book sold we have no means of discovering. Apparently it had but one review, the following lines in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Volume xxii, January, 1861:

"*Evan Harrington; or He would be a Gentleman* (published by Harper and Brothers) is a spirited novel, illustrative of the distinction of rank in English society, and remarkable for the vivacity of its narrative and the dramatic raciness of its dialogue."

Satisfactory or unsatisfactory as this venture may have been, neither Messrs. Harper and Brothers nor any other American publishers undertook to reprint anything of Meredith's until 1877. In that year the short tale *The House on the Beach* was republished from the January number of *The New Quarterly Review*

as No. 22 of *Harper's Half-Hour Series*. Two years later, that is in 1879, the same American firm included *The Egoist* as No. 90 in their *Franklin Square Library*, as they also did *Diana of the Crossways* in 1885 as No. 462. Meanwhile George Munro had published *The House on the Beach* in 1878, *The Tragic Comedians* in 1881, and an abbreviated edition of *Diana of the Crossways* in 1885 as issues of *The Seaside Library*. In 1885 Meredith was fifty-seven years old, and had been writing for thirty-six years; yet, aside from the seven unauthorized reprints thus far mentioned, none of his work had issued from American presses; and regarding his power the American reviewers were silent.

On the ground, however, that publishers are not likely to print what is not in noticeable demand, we may infer that Meredith was making no inconsiderable audience in this country. To meet the desires of American readers, therefore, Messrs. Roberts Brothers of Boston entered into arrangements with Messrs. Chapman and Hall of London by which the former firm became the distributors of Meredith's works in America. They can hardly be regarded as publishers, for the books were both printed and bound in England, those for the American trade having upon the title pages the name of the American agents and bearing at the base of the back cover the letters R. B. in place of

Chapman and Hall. The publication in this uniform edition of the ten volumes of prose written by Meredith before the end of 1885, was not completed until 1887. Two years later a so-called "New Edition" began to appear. It was printed, however, from the plates of the previous issue, differing from it, therefore, only in that a new binding was used and that in 1891 an eleventh volume, *One of Our Conquerors*, was added. This reprint was the blue and gold edition long popular in England; but the supply intended for American trade was sent to this country in sheets and was bound up here in brown cloth stamped upon the side with a portrait of Meredith in gold and his autograph in black.

Meanwhile Messrs. Ward, Lock, and Company had in 1892 published *The Tragic Comedians* with a special introductory note by Clement Shorter on Ferdinand Lassalle. This was also imported in sheets by Roberts Brothers, and was bound up here to match the second uniform edition of Meredith's prose work.

In the matter of Meredith's poetry, the four volumes entitled *Ballads and Poems of Tragic Life*, *A Reading of Earth*, *The Empty Purse*, and *Modern Love* were respectively issued by Roberts Brothers in 1887, 1888, 1892, and 1893. It is interesting to know that the same collections of verse were also published in the same years by Messrs. Macmillan and

Company as from London and New York; and that the apparent anomaly existed of two firms in one country issuing the same books. The Boston firm, however, printed its own edition; the New York firm imported its copies from England.

When the firm of Roberts Brothers dissolved in 1895, Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons took over all the Meredith items carried by the former publishers and thenceforward became the authorized publishers and distributors of Meredith's writings in America. In 1898 they published in sixteen volumes the Boxhill Edition, the first to be printed in this country; and in 1906 using the same plates, they issued a pocket edition of Meredith's prose and poetry. For a brief time between these two dates, the firm carried a pocket edition printed and bound for them in England by Messrs. Archibald Constable and Company, although the title pages bore the names of the American agents. Until Meredith's death in 1909, therefore, but two editions of his collected work had actually been printed in America, although five purporting to have been published here had been upon the market. Early in 1910 a Memorial Edition began to appear. This was rendered possible by arrangement with the novelist's son, Mr. William Manxe Meredith, who is superintending a simultaneous issue of his father's work in London. In contents the corresponding



volumes of the English and American editions are identical; in pagination they differ considerably.

The fact that six editions of an author who never catered to popularity, could be called for in twenty-five years shows that his writings must be in demand. But there are other proofs that Meredith's audience was increasing. Pirated editions of *Rhoda Fleming*, of *The Egoist*, and of *Diana of the Crossways* appeared; a strange trio indeed, and all the stranger since in issuing the novel last named, the publishers with calm indifference presented the American public with but twenty-six of the forty-three chapters which Meredith wrote. Further, one novel, *One of Our Conquerors*, was in 1890 published as a serial simultaneously in this country, in England, and in Australia; another, *The Amazing Marriage*, was first printed as the leading novel of *Scribner's Magazine* for 1895. And, still further, from 1885 the year when Roberts Brothers undertook to present George Meredith to American readers, reviews have been many and just. Not a magazine of repute but has given much space to a consideration of Meredith's art, mission, and power. Find fault as they may, the American critics have sooner or later united with Mrs. Humphry Ward in exclaiming, "The Master of us all, George Meredith!"

This is no place to take even a cursory view

of the opinions of Meredith's American critics. The purpose of such a paper as this is best subserved, no doubt, by enumerating the articles from the pen of such critics, and indicating where they may be found. In the following bibliography, the compiler has included nothing which has not been actually printed in this country, and he has been forced, for obvious reasons, to omit mention of many contributions to daily newspapers and weekly magazines.

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Novels of George Meredith," pp. 145-172.—*The Novels of George Meredith, A Study*, by Elmer James Bailey. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 12mo, pp. 226.

1909. *Masters of the English Novel*, by Richard Burton. New York, Henry Holt and Co. 12mo. "Hardy and Meredith," Chapter XII, pp. 262-298.—*Modern Love*. New York, Michael Kennerley. 4to. Introductory study by Richard Le Gallienne, pp. 1-9.

1910. *Studies in Wives*, by M. Belloc Lowndes. New York, Michael Kennerley. 12mo. "According to Meredith," pp. 151-204.—*Neither Dorking nor the Abbey*, by J. M. Barrie. Chicago, Browne's Book Store. 12mo.

F. PERIODICAL ARTICLES CONCERNING MEREDITH AND HIS WORKS.

1876. "Beauchamp's Career by George Meredith." *The Canadian Monthly* (Toronto), 9: 341-343, April.

1880. "The New Fiction," by Henry Holbeach. *Appleton's Journal*, 23: 345f.

1883. "Mr. George Meredith's Poems and Lyrics." *The Literary World*, 14: 454, Dec. 15.

1885. "London Letter," by H. B. *The Critic*, 9: 77, 78, Aug. 14.

1887. "George Meredith," by Flora M. Shaw. *The New Princeton Review*, 3: 220-229, March.—"The Novels of George Meredith." *The Literary World*, 18: 137-138, April 30.—"A Word with George Meredith." *The Atlantic Monthly*, 59: 854-855, June.—"George Meredith," by George B. Baker, Jr. *The Harvard Monthly*, 4: 138f., July-September.—*The Shaving of Shagpat*: review. *The Literary World*, 18: 285, Sept. 3.—"Mr. George Meredith's Novels." *The Critic*, 11(n. s. 8): 205, 206, Oct. 22.

1888. "George Meredith's Poems," by George Parsons Lathrop. *The Atlantic Monthly*, 61: 178-193, Feb.—"London as a Literary Centre," by R. R. Bowker. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 77: 3-26, June.—"Three Volumes of Verse." *The Critic*, 13(n. s. 10): 242, Nov. 17. "An Interview with George Meredith," by W. M. F. (William Morton Fullerton). *The Boston Advertiser*, Dec. 17.



1889. "The Homelife of George Meredith." *The Book-Buyer*, pp. 580-2, Jan.—"Mr. George Meredith's Novels," by J. M. Barrie. *The Eclectic Magazine*, 49(n. s.): 118-126. "George Meredith's Novels." *The Critic*, 14 (n. s. 11): 267, 268, June 1.—"George Meredith as a Theorist," by Tompkins McLaughlin. *The New Englander and Yale Review* (New Haven, Conn.), 51 (n. s. 15): 81-95, Aug.

1891. "A Visit to George Meredith," by J. B. Gilman. *The Author*, 3: 49, April.

1892. "A Study of Mr. George Meredith," by J. A. Newton Robinson. *The Eclectic Magazine*, 55(n. s.): 124-129.—"Mr. Meredith in his Poems," by Edward Dowden. *The Eclectic Magazine*, 55 (n. s.): 650-660, May.

1894. "George Meredith's Novels," by Emily Wheeler. *The Chautauquan*, 19: 561-565, Aug.

1895. "George Meredith's Maiden Speech," by Robertson Nicoll. *The Bookman*, 2: 34-36, Aug.—"A Summer with George Meredith: In Particular *Richard Feverel*," by Edith L. Menefee. *Poet Lore*, 7: 505-512, Oct.—"The Victory of Aphasia Gibberish," by Max Beerbohm. *The Chap Book* (Chicago), 6: no. 3, Dec. 15.

1896. *The Amazing Marriage*: reviews. *Public Opinion*, 20: 56, Jan. 9. *The Bookman*, 2: 522, 523, Feb. "Recent Novels," by William M. Payne. *The Dial*, 20: 77, Feb. 1.

1897. "Living Masters: George Meredith and Hall Caine," by D. C. Murray. *The Canadian Monthly*, 8: 411-413, March.—*An Essay on Comedy and the Uses of the Comic Spirit*: reviews. *The Book-Buyer*, 14: 199, March. *The Literary World*, 28: 130, April 17. *The Dial*, 22: 255, April 16. *The Critic*, 27: 301, May 1. *The Nation*, 64: 384, May 20. *The Bookman*, 5: 433-434, July.—"The Novels of George Meredith." *Public Opinion*, 23: 180-181, Aug. 5.—"The Poetry of George Meredith," *Littell's Living Age*, 214: 224-244, Sept. 4.—*Selected Poems*: reviews. *The Critic*, 28: 217, Oct. 16. *Literature*, 1: 69, Nov. 6. *The Nation*, 65: 459, Dec. 9. *The Literary World*, 28: 456, Dec. 11. *The Bookman*, 6: 345, Dec.—"The Novels of George Meredith." *Littell's Living Age*, 215: 504-520, Nov. 20.

1898. "British Verse: George Meredith and Watts-Dunton." *Poet Lore*, 10: 123-127, Jan.—"Aphorisms of Mere-

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1899. "Poésie de George Meredith," by H. D. Davray. *Literature*, 4: 268, 269, March 31.—"George Meredith." *The Bookman*, 9: 146-147, April.—"George Meredith: Novelist and Poet," by James Walter Young and William Norman Guthrie. *The Sewanee Review* (Sewanee, Tenn.), 7: 129 f., April.—"A Note on Meredith." *Literature*, 4: 580, June 30.—"The Style of George Meredith," by W. R. Nicoll. *The Bookman*, 10: 147 f., Oct.

1900. "George Meredith on the Source of Destiny," by Emily G. Hooker. *Poet Lore*, 12: 238-252, April-June.—"Description of George Meredith." *The Critic*, 37: 390, Nov.

1901. "The Obscurity of Mr. Meredith's Poem." *Public Opinion*, 30: 404, March 28.—"The Work of George Meredith." *Current Literature*, 30: 755-756, June.—*A Reading of Life*: reviews. *The Nation*, 73: 152, Aug. 22. *The Critic*, 39: 283, Sept. (W. M. Payne)—*The Dial*, 31: 238, Oct.—"The Historic Place of Mr. Meredith and Mr. Hardy," by Edmund Gosse. *The International Monthly* (Burlington, Vt.), 4: 299-323, Sept.

1902. "The Conception of Nature in the Poems of George Meredith," by F. Melian Stawell. *The International Journal of Ethics*, 12: 316-334, April.—"A Meredith Footnote." *The Atlantic Monthly*, 89: 866-868, June.—"A Knightly Pen," by Harriet Waters Preston. *The Atlantic Monthly*, 90: 506-514, Oct.—"Meredith on his own Novels." *Public Opinion*, 25: 181, Aug. 11.—"The Novels of George Meredith," by Cornelia Atwood Pratt. *The Critic*, 33 (N. S. 30): 156-159 Sept.—"The Works of George Meredith."

*Literature*, 3: 423, Nov.—*Odes in Contribution to the Song of French History*: reviews. *Literature*, 3: 485-486, Nov. 26. *The Independent*, 50: 1938, Dec. 29. *The Critic*, 34: 88, Jan., 1896. (W. M. Payne) *The Dial*, 26: 55, Jan. 16, 1899.

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 —"The Dramatic Novel," by J. B. Henneman. *The Reader* (Indianapolis, Ind.), 8: 680-683, Nov.—"Meredith: the Last of His Peers," by H. W. Nevins. *The World To-Day* (Chicago, Ill.), 11: 1287-1290, Dec.—"Meredith as a Poet of Love." *Current Literature*, 41: 641-643, Dec.

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by Annie Kimball Tuell. *The Atlantic Monthly*, 104: 213-218, Aug.—“The Poetry of George Meredith,” by J. Bailey. *Littell's Living Age*, 262: 323-333, Aug. 7.—“The Moral Philosophy of Meredith,” by G. K. Chesterton. *Littell's Living Age*, 262: 423-427, Aug. 14.—“After the Passing Bell,” by L. W. Smith. *The Independent*, 67: 474, Aug. 26.—“Meredith and His Contemporary Critics.”—*The Bookman*, 30: 10-15, Sept.—“George Meredith: Teacher.” *Harper's Weekly*, 53: 6, Sept. 11.—“Meredith” (poem), by Cale Young Rice. *The Century*, 78 (n. s. 56): 777, Sept.—“Meredith as a Publisher's Reader,” by B. W. Matz. *Littell's Living Age*, 262: 732-744, Sept. 18.—“Personal Recollections of Meredith,” by Frederick Jones Bliss. *The Century*, 78 (n. s. 56): 928-31, Oct.—“Burning Convictions of Meredith.” *Current Literature*, 47: 413-415, Oct.—“Meredith in Broken Doses,” by Archibald Henderson. *The Forum*, 42: 387-390, Oct.—“George Meredith,” by Archibald Henderson. *The Twentieth Century Magazine*, 1: 99, Nov.—“Men I have Loved,” by Mrs. Leslie Carter. *The Scrap Book*, p. 780, Nov.—“Meredith as a Critic,” by William Dean Howells. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 120: 149-151, Dec.—“Mr. Howells Rebukes Meredith.” *The Literary Digest*, 39: 1067-1068, Dec. 11.—“Last Poems of George Meredith.” *The Independent*, 67: 1511-1512, Dec. 30.

1910. “Meredith's Art.” *Littell's Living Age*, 264: 515-526, Feb. 26.—“A Snap-shot of Meredith,” by Walter L. Leighton. *The Twentieth Century Magazine*, 1: 528-531, March.—“Notes for Bibliophiles.” *The Nation*, 90: 207-208, March 3.—“Meredith: a Lover of Flowers.” *The Outlook*, 94: 711-719.—“George Meredith's Poetry,” by Richard Le Gallienne. *The Forum*, 43: 441-447, April.

#### G. PORTRAITS OF GEORGE MEREDITH.

1. Photograph of George Meredith at the age of 35. *Memorial Edition of Meredith*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. Vol. 7: Frontispiece.

2. Painting by M. Stein, photographed by Frederick Hollyer. *The Pilgrim's Script*. Boston, Roberts Brothers. 1888. Frontispiece. *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 77:

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3. Photograph by Roller. *The Critic* 26 (N. S. 23): 279, April 13, 1895. *Selected Poems of George Meredith*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1897. Frontispiece. *The Bookman*, 2: 471, 1896. *The Bookman's Literary Year Book*, New York, Dodd, Mead and Co. 1899. Frontispiece. *The Literary Digest*, 19: 491, Oct. 21, 1899. *The Novels of George Meredith: A Study*, by E. J. Bailey, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. *The Book News Monthly*, 26: 495, March, 1908. *The Review of Reviews*, 40: 122, July, 1909.

4. Photograph by Thompson. *The Independent*, 64: 361, Feb. 13, 1908; also p. 1038, May 7, 1908. *The Literary Digest*, 36: 341, March 7, 1908; also 38: 929, May 29, 1909. *Harper's Weekly*, 53: 3, May 29, 1909. Reproduced in Etching by Jules Reich upon a plate 8x10. New York.

5. Etching by Mnepes. *The Critic*, 45: 194, Sept., 1904.

6. Painting by George Frederick Watts. *The Critic*, 43: 497, Dec., 1903. *The Canadian Magazine*, 23: 37, May, 1904. *The Review of Reviews*, 37: 184, Feb., 1908. *The Book News Monthly*, 26: 494, March, 1908. *The Review of Reviews*, 37: 184, Feb., 1908.

7. Portrait Painted for J. M. Barrie by Amy Draper Sumner. *Scribner's Magazine*, 46: frontispiece, July, 1909.

8. Photograph by Alvin Langdon Coburn, taken in October, 1904. *The Century Magazine*, 70 (N. S. 48): 4, May, 1905. *The Independent*, 68: 264, Feb. 3, 1910. *Memorial Edition of Meredith*, vol. I, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons: 1910.

9. Various portraits. *The Book Buyer*, 5: 196, 1888; also 5: 581, 1888; also 12: 120, 1895. *The Bookman*, 2: 471, Feb., 1896; also 19: 548, Aug., 1904; also vol. 30, Sept., 1909. —*The World To-Day*, 9: 888, Aug., 1905. *The World's Work*, 18: 11736, July, 1909. *Putnam's Magazine*, 6: 455, July, 1909.

10. "Snap Shots": "Mr. George Meredith Telling a Story to Mr. and Mrs. Clement Shorter." *The Critic*, 37: 390, Nov., 1900. "Mr. George Meredith in Conversation

with Sarah Grand." *The Literary Digest*, 29: 535, Oct. 22, 1904; also 38: 930, May 30, 1909; also detail showing Meredith alone, 30: 891, June 17, 1905. "Mr. Meredith in His Donkey-Cart." *The Literary Digest*, 38: 931, May 30, 1909.

ADDENDUM.

1902. "The Chorus is the Novels of George Meredith," by Lucy E. Fay. *The University of Texas Record* (Austin, Texas), 4: no. 3, July.



## AN ELEMENTARY COURSE IN OLD ENGLISH

BY ALMA BLOUNT, PH.D.

It is a common saying among educators that no person has a right to think he understands the English language—much less has a right to try to teach it—if he has not studied grammatical relations in the unmistakable forms of some well-inflected tongue. The principle is sound; yet it is, perhaps, not exclusive enough as a principle governing the selection of teachers of English grammar, and not inclusive enough as a principle governing their training. Successful students of Latin and German are puzzled by the difficulties that confront them in teaching English grammar, and are often unable to answer reasonable questions propounded by the pupils. What could the best of Latin students say in answer to this question, which was lately asked in a class in English grammar: “Why do we use the indicative plural for the subjective singular in ‘If I *were* you’?”

Peculiar difficulties arise in the study of English grammar because our language, once so

well inflected, is now almost without grammatical forms. Grammatical relations of words, therefore, that once would have been made quite clear by inflectional endings, are now obscured, and we must turn for help to the language of the earlier period. Professor Francis A. March has said: "Almost all our grammatical forms are Anglo-Saxon. The difficulties of our language, whether in spelling, or the irregular formation of modes and tenses, or of plurals and genders, or in the peculiar combinations of syntax, are almost all to be referred to Anglo-Saxon, and most of them are easily understood; they are now difficult because they are relics of habits and forms which have passed away." The student of the earlier forms will move with confidence in many places where others will step with hesitation and reluctance. It follows, then, that teachers of English grammar should be acquainted not simply with the forms and constructions of *some* inflected language, but with those of the early period of *the* language they profess to teach.

To study thoroughly the history of the English language is the task of a life-time. It means making some acquaintance with all of the important Indo-European tongues, especially with those of the Germanic group; it means the study of the relation of these languages to one another, and of the changes they have undergone. This thorough study can be made only by persons

who supplement their college course by graduate study, and can be expected of but few. A far less extensive, yet a very helpful, course may be followed by many persons, and should be required of all those preparing to teach English grammar in the high school—possibly even of those expecting to teach it in the seventh and eighth grades of the grammar school. The object of this paper is to show what may be accomplished in this direction by telling what is done in one elementary Old English course.

The Department of English in the Michigan State Normal College offers an elective course in Old English. This course lasts through one quarter (twelve weeks, four hours weekly), and is of necessity as elementary as possible. The class numbers from fifteen to forty students yearly. Some of them have had courses in Latin or German, or in both; others come to this work without any previous training in linguistic study. For these last the first week or two, or even three, of the quarter are often somewhat perplexing and discouraging, but by the end of a month or six weeks all are working intelligently and enthusiastically. Out of the two hundred or more who have pursued the course in the last eight years, not half a dozen have failed to obtain the credit, and very few have done unsatisfactory work.

The text-book for this course should provide a simple explanation of Old English grammar

and plenty of selections of easy prose for practice in reading. The class referred to uses Cook's *First Book in Old English*.

The teacher helps in the tiresome labor of memorizing the paradigms by placing them on the board before assigning them for a lesson, and calling attention to points of similarity between the Old English inflections on the one hand, and those of Modern German and Modern English on the other. By means of many devices the drudgery of memorizing is reduced to a minimum, while the necessary forms are, nevertheless, thoroughly committed to memory. The teacher also endeavors to distinguish carefully between the essential and the non-essential in assigning the paradigms. It is not necessary that an elementary student should know all the confusing exceptions and peculiarities. It is better that he should learn well the regular paradigms, and pick up the variations later as he comes across them in reading. It will probably never be necessary for these elementary students to notice most of the exceptional forms. During this form-learning stage of the study the class reads, analyzes, and carefully observes the inflections in the first selection in the text, "The Creation" from Aelfric's *Genesis*.

The results of this not very inspiring work become apparent in about three weeks, the students being able by that time to begin reading the very entertaining romance of "Apollonius

of Tyre." From this time on the interest of the class steadily increases. In two or three weeks more they are reading ordinary West-Saxon prose at sight, with a little help on the new words and peculiar forms. The "Apollonius" is read before the selections in the text immediately following "The Creation," because the story furnishes an incentive to good translation and rapid reading. After the "Apollonius" the class returns to the selections from Aelfric, from the translation of Bede, and from Wulfstan; and the seventy-five pages of prose in the text are easily finished in the term of twelve weeks.

As has been said, the first month of the course is devoted entirely to making the acquaintance of the Old English language. After the students begin to read with some ease and no longer need the whole class time for drill on forms, a portion of each class hour is given to the "practical" work of the term—the historical explanation of English inflections. This work is based on such material as is found in the histories of the English Language by Emerson, Lounsbury, Champneys, and others. Here, again, it is necessary for the teacher to adapt and limit the work somewhat, and to remember that she is teaching a normal, *not* a university class. The interest shown by the students in historical grammar is most gratifying. They are always alert and eager to discover as much as possible at first hand. It is practical for them to trace out

many forms for themselves. After a careful study of the list of changes English inflections have suffered, the students may place on the board the Old English paradigms and mark the various "weakenings" and losses, until the modern forms are reached. At the end of the term, the students should be (and usually are) able to speak intelligently on the following subjects:

1. The origin of our modern noun inflection—*s*-plurals, and *s*-genitives; why this *s* is pronounced sometimes *s*, sometimes *z*, and why we have sometimes the syllable *ez*; the voicing of *f* in *wolves*, etc., and other phonetic peculiarities; the origin of the plurals *feet*, *men*, *teeth*, *mice*, *geese*, *lice*; *children*, *brethren*, *kine*; *sheep*, *deer*, *swine*; *two-horse*, *five-year*, *ten-pound*, *twelve-month*, *fortnight*, *sennight*, etc.

2. The origin of the comparative *-er* and of the superlative *-est*. Explanation of *elder*, *eldest*, beside *older*, *oldest*. "Irregular" comparisons—*good*, etc. The superlatives in *-m-ost*, and *-er-m-ost*.

3. The origin of our modern numerals and articles.

4. The sources of our adverbs; and their inflection.

5. The origin of our modern pronoun declensions; personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, relative.

6. The derivation from Old English of our

Modern verb conjugation—origin of *-s* (*-z*, *-ez*), *-eth*, *-est*, *-ing*; the principal parts of our strong verbs; the use of *-ed* (*-d*, *-t*) to form the past stem and past participle of weak verbs; the parts of weak verbs with phonetic peculiarities (*feel*, *feed*, *sell*, *think*, etc.); the two infinitives; the forms of *be* traced from Old English; the forms of our defective verbs traced back to Old English; verb-phrases, with examples from Old English, showing infinitives after *may*, *can*, etc., and inflected participles after *have* and *be*.

In the proper connections, such expressions, as “they be,” “hissself,” etc., are mentioned and explained.

7. The historical explanation of some modern constructions, of which the following are a few examples:

- a. *Like* and *near* followed by the dative.
- b. *Ask* followed by two accusatives.
- c. Some “adverbial nouns,” showing their case-endings.
- d. The genitive added to a noun (“on board ship”).
- e. The adverb *the* from the instrumental.
- f. The dative, or indirect object.
- g. The infinitive with the subject accusative.

Old English sentences containing these and other constructions sometimes incorrectly expounded in modern grammars are given to the class, who explain the modern syntax by comparing it with

the old inflected form. For the historical development of a number of idiomatic phrases the students are referred to the *New English Dictionary* and other scholarly works with which every teacher of English grammar should be familiar.

In educational matters, as well as in other affairs of life, "the proof of the pudding is in the eating." Fine theories are all very well, but they are worth nothing unless they are practical. It is fair, then, to ask whether the students in their own teaching make any use of their Old English training. The testimony of the students must decide whether the twelve weeks have been well spent. Their testimony is derived from two sources: first, from the memory of their former limitations; and, secondly, from their experience after making this elementary study of historical grammar.

1. Many students in a normal college are men and women of some years' experience in teaching in the public schools. They are frequently persons of excellent ability, who realize somewhat the limitations of their knowledge and know exactly where to apply pedagogically the learning they acquire from day to day. These persons recognize at once the practical value of the course. It is not unusual for one of them to linger after the class hour to say, "The children have asked me a hundred times why *foot* has the plural *feet*, and I never knew



before how to explain it"; "I shan't have to say 'I don't know' the next time a child asks me why there is no preposition before the indirect object and the adverbial noun." The best and most mature students know immediately how they can use the Old English course in their grade and high school teaching.

2. From not a few students the teacher of the Old English course has received word after they have left the Normal College. One young woman, who went into a seventh-eighth grade English-history departmental position, wrote, "I used my Old English text as much as any reference work in preparing for my grammar classes." Another (not "stupid," but somewhat distracted by various social obligations), after two months of teaching, sent a small souvenir, "Just to remind you of a stupid girl, who nevertheless finds what Old English she did learn a great benefit in her grammar work." Another asserted that the simple historical material she introduced into her high school grammar course was of the greatest interest to the children, many of whom remained after the class period to ask for more complete explanations. Similar testimony has come from a great number of students.

These most gratifying results prove that the course has passed the experimental stage. It is both possible and desirable to teach the elements of Old English and historical English

grammar to students of the normal grade. A similar course should be offered in all of our normal schools, perhaps in some of our best high schools and academies. A little learning is better than none at all, and not a very dangerous thing if one understands perfectly well that he has only a little. How infinitely much less complaint we should hear about the deadness of the teaching of language, about the mechanical dullness of the class in grammar, if the instructors were properly prepared for their work; if they had such an insight into linguistic principles as this course, limited though it is, would give to them! Their own interest would be stimulated by better preparation; and on the intelligent enthusiasm of the teacher depends his power to inspire interest in the pupils.

It is practical also to ask what preparation the teacher needs who shall undertake to give this elementary course in Old English. It goes without saying that he needs considerably more than elementary training if he is to teach the elements successfully. An interested class is full of proper curiosity to know more, and this curiosity expresses itself in questions. If the teacher is to keep up the interest, he cannot *too* often answer "I don't know"; and when he *must* say, "I don't know," he should usually be able to add, "but I'll find out." It is most desirable that the teacher of elementary Old English should have some acquaintance with

the Gothic language, with Germanic and Comparative Philology, and with the principles of phonetics. If he stimulates properly the minds of the students, he will have to answer many such questions as:—"What is umlaut?" "Is there any explanation for the vowel change in *weak* verbs like *sēcean*, *sōhte*?" "Is ablaut found in other languages?" Besides being properly prepared with the information necessary to satisfy such questions, the teacher should have the tact and judgment to answer them simply and clearly, using few technical terms, and remembering that he is explaining to an *elementary*, not a university class.

If it be asked where teachers may be obtained for these courses, it may be answered that the demand will create the supply. We have plenty of material in our great universities—professors, students, courses, books—and the opening of positions would call men and women to prepare themselves to instruct in this interesting field. On the other hand, those who at present appreciate the value of historical grammar must work to show the world of teachers its need, and thus create the demand.

May I add as a corollary a word of personal experience as to the use of historical material in an ordinary grammar class? I have, at first with fear and trembling, made historical explanations when they seemed to me the only correct ones to make. I have been surprised and

gratified at the avidity with which the good students pick up these morsels of historical grammar that fall in their way. In answer to the question mentioned above—"Why do we use the indicative plural for the subjunctive singular?"—I put on the board *wæs, wæron, wære, wæren*, and explained the significance of the forms and the loss of the endings. The student, who knew no more of Old English than he did of Chinese, was perfectly able to comprehend the explanation. In a class of normal or high-school grade many similar explanations may profitably be made. Regarding the introduction of such material into the elementary grammar classes below the high school, several of my advanced students have expressed themselves as holding opinions much more radical than I should dare profess. One young woman, who had already been for several years a successful teacher in the grades, writing a lesson on the indirect object for a class which could not be expected to understand the term *dative*, insisted on mentioning the fact that there was once an ending on the noun and a form of the pronoun that expressed the relation *to, for*, and made a preposition unnecessary. In her opinion the teacher would add greatly to the interest of her lessons if she would introduce into them many such facts and explanations not usually found in text-books for those grades, and perhaps better introduced by the teacher than by the text.

In thus urging the more thorough and vital study of English as a language, I do not intend to imply that such study can or should supplant the school work in literature and composition. A habit of intelligent reading and the ability to express one's thought in words are two of the most important gifts education can bring to any person. But grammar, ideally taught, should aid in the scholarly study of both literature and composition. It should make the student more accurate in interpretation and more exact in sentence construction. Moreover, grammar is one of the standard studies of the grammar school, and of the normal school, and often of the high school. It is very frequently ill-taught, usually because the teachers are ill-prepared, and are therefore obliged to be dogmatic and mechanical. Why should we not insist upon improvement in the teaching of the third branch of the English trilogy, as well as in that of the other two?

## THE POWER OF THE EYE IN COLERIDGE

BY LANE COOPER

Every one will recall what a distinctive mark of the chief personage in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* is his 'glittering eye'; and it will not be forgotten that in a stanza contributed by Wordsworth to the opening of the ballad by his friend, the Mariner is represented as exercising through the gleam of his eye a notable power of hypnotic fascination:

He holds him with his *glittering eye*—  
The Wedding-Guest *stood still*,  
And listens like a three years' child:  
The Mariner hath his will.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. M. 13-16. Throughout this paper italics are used in order to draw attention to certain catchwords or stock phrases in the poet's vocabulary, e.g., *bright*, *bright-eyed*, *glitter*, *glittering*, *fixed*, *stood still*, etc. And the following abbreviations are employed: A. M. (= *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, in the final text of 1829 as reprinted by Campbell); A. M., 1 ed. (= the original text of the same poem in *Lyrical Ballads*, 1798, as reprinted by Campbell); P. W. (= the *Poetical Works* of Coleridge, edited by Campbell); and P. B. (= Wordsworth's *Peter Bell*).

That is, the Mariner has his own way with the Wedding-Guest, as the Sun, later on in the poem, has his way with the ship:

The sails at noon left off their tune,  
And the ship *stood still* also.

The Sun, right up above the mast,  
Had *fixed* her to the ocean.<sup>2</sup>

At first reading, one might suppose the meaning to be that the Mariner had control of the Wedding-Guest's will—which of course is true. But it is not precisely what is said, as may be gathered from a stanza, subsequently omitted, in the original version of the ballad:

Listen, O listen, thou Wedding-guest!  
'Mariners! thou hast thy will:  
For that which comes out of thine *eye* doth make  
My body and soul to be *still*.'<sup>3</sup>

The Wordsworthian lines commencing, 'He holds him with his glittering eye,' and the general Coleridgean notion in them, are sufficiently familiar, as is also the gloss which accompanies them: 'The Wedding-Guest is *spell-bound* by the *eye* of the old seafaring man, and constrained to hear his tale.'<sup>4</sup>

However, it is not probable that among students of Coleridge the frequency with which

<sup>2</sup> A. M. 381-4.

<sup>3</sup> A. M., 1 ed., 362-5.

<sup>4</sup> Marginal gloss to A. M. 13-16.

the idea of an ocular hypnosis or the like arises in the mind of the poet has been duly observed, so that his full meaning in several otherwise well-known passages may easily escape the general reader. Accordingly, I propose to collect a number of extracts from Coleridge in which this notion is altogether patent; to add to these certain other extracts in which it may be only suggested, or is concealed, proceeding in such a way that the less may receive light from the more obvious; and to supply still further material, some of it drawn from remoter sources, that can be made to bear upon the particular subject of this study. Our study, therefore, will involve an examination of passages from *Lewti*, *The Three Graves*, *Kubla Khan*, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* in the first as well as the final and accepted version, *Christabel*, *The Nightingale*, *Osorio*, etc.; it will include some description of Coleridge's appearance—for example, the look of his eye—and some account of his interest in animal magnetism and ocular fascination; it will touch upon the widespread interest during the earlier part of Coleridge's life in Friedrich Anton Mesmer and his cult of magnetizers; and, among other things, it will allude to certain differences, casual as well as intended, between Coleridge and Wordsworth in their treatment of what is called the 'supernatural'. It hardly needs to be said that the present writer, being neither an adept in the secrets of animal



magnetism, nor versed in the immense literature on this and related topics, does not concern himself with any question as to the reality of the hypnotic influences issuing, or thought to issue, from the human eye, but only with Coleridge's opinion as to their reality or likelihood. For the history of the subject the reader may consult the standard work by Binet and Féré,<sup>5</sup> Charles Mackay's *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions*,<sup>6</sup> or, if they are accessible, some of the older treatises of which Coleridge himself makes mention—among them, and especially, that by Kluge.<sup>7</sup> I have not been able to obtain this.

As for Coleridge himself, it may be assumed that he was conscious of a power that seemed to dwell in his own eye. Thus in the *Hexameters* addressed to William and Dorothy Wordsworth, and written, as their author says, 'during a temporary blindness in the year 1799', he exclaims:

O! what a life is the eye! what a fine and inscrutable essence!<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> *Animal Magnetism*, New York, Appleton, 1890. See also the historical sketch at the beginning of Albert Moll's *Hypnotism*, New York, 1890.

<sup>6</sup> London, Routledge, 1869 (volume 1, pp. 262-295, *The Magnetizers*).

<sup>7</sup> Carl Alexander Kluge, *Versuch einer Darstellung des Animalischen Magnetismus*, Berlin, 1815 (first edition, 1811). The work was widely translated.

<sup>8</sup> *P. W.*, p. 138.

LANE COOPER

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And even in ordinary conversation he must have experienced, to an unusual degree, the sense of control over his audience which in the born orator we often attribute to his direct, or, as we call it, 'piercing' glance. In fact, Carlyle bears testimony to something of the sort in Coleridge, when the latter was an elderly and broken man, long after the halcyon days when *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel* were taking shape. Says Carlyle: 'I have heard Coleridge talk, with eager musical energy, two stricken hours, his face radiant and moist, and communicate no meaning whatsoever to any individual of his hearers—certain of whom, I for one, still kept eagerly listening in hope.'<sup>9</sup> The Sage of Highgate evidently needed to lay no hand upon that chosen guest whom he would detain from the pleasures of the world at his feast of reason and flow of soul. In his prime he was not less magnetic. 'From Carlyon we learn that Coleridge dressed badly, "but I have heard him say, fixing his prominent eyes upon himself (as he was wont to do whenever there was a mirror in the room), with a singularly coxcombical expression of countenance, that his dress was sure to be lost sight of the moment he began to talk, an assertion which, whatever may be thought of its modesty, was not without truth."' <sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Carlyle, *Life of John Sterling: Works* (1904) 11.56.

<sup>10</sup> Campbell, *Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, p. 99.

That there was something unusual, if not captivating, in his look may be inferred, if only from the strange and conflicting reports (brought together by Dr. Haney) as to the actual color of his eyes. They were, of course, large and gray, as his most intimate friends specifically affirm. Wordsworth calls him

A noticeable man, with large gray eyes.<sup>11</sup>

And Dorothy Wordsworth, writing to a friend a year or so before the composition of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, says of Coleridge: 'His eye is large and full, not dark but gray; such an eye as would receive from a heavy soul the dullest expression, but it speaks every emotion of his animated mind. It has more of "the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling" than I ever witnessed. He has fine dark eyebrows, and an overhanging forehead.'<sup>12</sup> Several other references to Coleridge's eyes may be given summarily. Carlyle: 'The deep eyes, of a light hazel, were as full of sorrow as of inspiration.' Carlyle (on another occasion): 'A pair of strange, brown, timid, yet earnest looking eyes.' Emerson: 'Bright blue eyes, and fine clear complexion.' Armstrong: 'The quick, yet steady

<sup>11</sup> *Stanzas Written in my Pocket-copy of Thomson's 'Castle of Indolence'* 39.

<sup>12</sup> *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, ed. Knight, 1.109. For other references to Coleridge's appearance I am indebted to the interesting article by Dr. John Louis Haney, *The Color of Coleridge's Eyes*, *Anglia* 23.424 ff.

and penetrating greenish-gray eye.' Winter (an imaginary portrait): 'The great, luminous, changeful blue eyes.' Leapidge Smith: 'Eyes not merely dark, but black, and keenly penetrating.' De Quincey (who, like the following, was a more trustworthy observer than some of the foregoing): 'His eyes were large, and in color were gray.' Hazlitt: 'Large, projecting eyebrows, and his eyes rolling beneath them like a sea with darkened lustre.' Henry Nelson Coleridge: 'His large gray eyes, at once the clearest and the deepest that I ever saw.' Harriet Martineau: 'His eyes were as wonderful as they were represented to be—light gray, extremely prominent, and actually "glittering."'

Much of the discrepancy in these reports may be set down to haste and carelessness in observation—Emerson, for example, is not always trustworthy on minor details; but, as we may gather from Dorothy Wordsworth, Coleridge's eyes, even before he began to take opium, might, under varying stress of emotion, go through a considerable range of appearance. As often happens with emotional subjects, his pupils were likely to suffer a striking dilatation, followed by intense contraction, the latter state having the effect which we know as a 'glitter'. At all events it doubtless is right to believe that in a measure the 'glittering eye'

\* Carlyle, *Life of* Mariner is the counterpart of an

<sup>10</sup> Campbell, *Samus* visible in the poet; and, if

there be such a thing as the hypnotic glance, there is nothing unreasonable in imagining that Coleridge possessed it.

In any case, if the existence of such a thing were affirmed, Coleridge was bound to be interested, as in any of those mysterious phenomena which he termed 'facts of mind'. Thus in a compendious description of himself which he sent to Thelwall in 1796, he remarks: 'Metaphysics and poetry and "facts of mind", that is, accounts of all the strange phantasms that ever possessed "your philosophy" . . . are my darling studies.'<sup>13</sup> Though any systematic account of the studies in animal magnetism entered into by so discursive and unmethodical a reader as Coleridge is scarcely possible, there is some ground for supposing that in his earlier years he was more prone to believe in a 'fact of mind', such as ocular hypnosis, than he was in later life. His allusions to cures by suggestion among the American Indians, as recorded in Hearne's *Hudson's Bay*, and to similar occurrences among the negroes of whom he read in Bryan Edwards' *West Indies*,<sup>14</sup> and indeed the use to which he puts his information on these matters in *Osorio* and the poems designed for *Lyrical Ballads*, all point to a less critical attitude

<sup>13</sup> Letter of Nov. 19, 1796. *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. E. H. Coleridge, 1.181.

<sup>14</sup> *P. W.*, p. 560. Cf. Hearne, pp. 193 ff., 218 ff; Edwards, Book 4, Chap. 3.

in the young Coleridge than we find in the Coleridge of *Table Talk* and Highgate. At Highgate he has become the cautious philosopher. It is therefore characteristic of him to say, under *Table Talk* for April 30, 1830: 'My mind is in a state of philosophical doubt as to animal magnetism. Von Spix, the eminent naturalist, makes no doubt of the matter, and talks coolly of giving doses of it.' Yet he goes on: 'The torpedo affects a third or external object, by an exertion of its own will; such a power is not properly electrical; for electricity acts invariably under the same circumstances.' And he adds: 'A steady gaze will make many persons of fair complexions blush deeply. Account for that.'<sup>15</sup>

However, he had already given as it were his final utterance on this head some years before 1830. Between 1820, when Southey's *Life of Wesley* appeared, and August, 1825, when Coleridge wrote the words in which he bequeathed his personally annotated copy of this work to its author, he had composed a long marginal memorandum on the similarity of the religious trances among the Wesleyan Methodists to the trances induced by the magnetizers. On the credibility of the phenomena said to occur during the magnetic trances, he observes:

'Among the magnetizers and attesters are to be found names of men . . . of integrity and incapability of intentional false-

<sup>15</sup> Coleridge, *Works*, ed. Shedd, 6.302.



hood . . . Cuvier, Hufeland, Blumenbach, Eschenmeyer, Reil, etc. . . . Nine years has the subject of zoömagnetism been before me. I have traced it historically, collected a mass of documents in French, German, Italian, and the Latinists of the sixteenth century, have never neglected an opportunity of questioning eye-witnesses, *e. g.*, Tieck, Treviranus, De Prati, Meyer, and others of literary or medical celebrity, and I remain where I was, and where the first perusal of Kluge's work had left me, without having moved an inch backward or forward. The reply of Treviranus, the famous botanist, to me, when he was in London, is worth recording: . . . "I have seen what I am certain I would not have believed on *your* telling and, in all reason, I can neither expect nor wish that you should believe on mine." <sup>16</sup>

If the perusal of C. A. Kluge's (= 'Klug's') work left him in an enduring state of 'philosophical doubt', to track Coleridge through the labyrinth of his subsequent futile investigations would not seem to be urgently demanded; and we may merely observe that he owned a copy of this treatise in the edition of 1815.<sup>17</sup> If he read this edition in the year of its issue, the 'nine years' of persistent study would bring the date of his marginal note in Southey's volume down to 1824. But even if he had seen

<sup>16</sup> Coleridge, *Works*, ed. Shedd, 6.303.

<sup>17</sup> See Haney's *Bibliography of Coleridge*, under 'Marginalia' (p. 119, No. 180).

Kluge in the edition of 1811, how are we to explain the long gap in his interest between 1797-98, when he had read Hearne and Edwards, and was writing *The Three Graves* and *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, and 1811, or later, when he began his alleged comprehensive researches?<sup>18</sup> It may, indeed, be the case that the date of his marginal note is the same as that of the bequest to Southey, 1825, and that his preoccupation with animal magnetism began just nine years earlier than this, namely, 1816, when he put himself under the medical care, and was received under the roof, of James Gillman at Highgate. In the library of a well-to-do physician, who was also a man of no slight intellectual curiosity, the poet would at that time be almost certain to find a number of books dealing with the subject.<sup>19</sup> However this may be, it is clear,

<sup>18</sup> See, however, Mackay, *Extraordinary Popular Delusions* 1.291: 'During the first twelve years of the [nineteenth] century little was heard of animal magnetism in any country of Europe. Even the Germans forgot their airy fancies, recalled to the knowledge of this every-day world by the roar of Napoleon's cannon and the fall or the establishment of kingdoms. During this period a cloud of obscurity hung over the science, which was not dispersed until M. Deleuze published, in 1813, his *Histoire Critique du Magnétisme Animal*. This work gave a new impulse to the half-forgotten fancy. Newspapers, pamphlets, and books again waged war upon each other on the question of its truth or falsehood; and many eminent men in the profession of medicine recommenced inquiry with an earnest design to discover the truth.'

<sup>19</sup> Compare Coleridge, *Miscellanies*, etc., ed. Ashe, 1885, pp. 351, 365 (footnote), 408, 410, etc.

as Dykes Campbell points out, that by June, 1817, Coleridge had become deeply enough engrossed to think of writing a popular work of his own on animal magnetism, 'a proposal which he renewed (to Curtis) eighteen months later, when his old teacher, Blumenbach, had recanted his [dis]belief' in it. And since he thereupon 'offered to contribute an historical treatise to the *Encyclopedia Metropolitana*,' the idea may possibly not have been so easily relinquished as were some of his numerous other literary projects. Campbell also refers to a contemporary letter (August, 1817) in which Southey, writing to his wife, anticipates the nature of a visit which he is about to pay Coleridge: 'He will begin as he did when last I saw him, about Animal Magnetism, or some equally congruous subject, and go on from Dan to Beersheba in his endless loquacity.'<sup>20</sup> Coleridge's letter of December 1, 1818, to Curtis, though rather long, may be quoted in full:

'Dear Sir: Sometime ago, I ventured to recommend an article on Animal Magnetism, *purely historical*, for the *Encyclopedia Metropolitana*. Since then the celebrated Professor Blumenbach, for so many years the zealous antagonist of Animal Magnetism, has openly recanted his opinion in three separate paragraphs of his great work on Physiology, which is

<sup>20</sup> P. W., Introduction, p. cii.

a text book in all the hospitals and Medical Universities in Europe; and this too happens to be in the edition from which Dr. Elliotson has recently translated the work into English. Cuvier had previously published his testimony, viz. that the facts were as undeniable as they were difficult to be explained on the present theory. The great names of Hufeland, Meckel, Reil, Autenrieth, Soemerring, Scarpa, etc., etc., appear as attesters of the facts, and their independence of the imagination of the patients. To these must be added the reports delivered in the courts of Berlin and Vienna by the several committees appointed severally by the Prussian and Austrian governments, and composed of the most eminent physicians, anatomists, and naturalists of the Prussian and Austrian States. In this country, the rising opinion of our first rate medical men is that the subject must sooner or later be submitted to a similar trial in this country, in order that so dangerous an implement (if it should prove to be a new physical agent akin to the galvanic electricity) may be taken out of the hands of the ignorant and designing, as hath already been done on the Continent by very severe Laws. Putting the truth or falsehood of the theory wholly out of the question, still it is altogether unique, and such as no history of the present age dare omit. Nay, it may be truly said that it becomes more interesting, more important, on the supposition

of its falsehood than of its truth, from the great number and wide dispersion of celebrated individuals, of the highest rank in science, who have joined in attesting its truth; especially as the largest part of these great men were for a long time its open opponents, and all, with the single exception of Cuvier, its avowed disbelievers. Add to this that as an article of entertainment, and as throwing a new light on the oracles and mysteries of Greek, Roman, and Egyptian Paganism, it would not be easy to point out its rival. These are the grounds on which I rest my continued recommendation of such an article as well worthy the attention of the conductors of your great work. One other motive will not be without its weight in *your* mind. I have some grounds for believing that a work of this kind is in *contemplation* by persons from whose hands it ought, if possible, to be rescued by anticipation, as it will, I know, be a main object with them to use the facts in order to undermine the *divine* character of the Gospel history, and the superhuman powers of its great founder; a scheme which can be rendered plausible only by misstatements, exaggeration, and the confounding of testimonies—those of fanatics and enthusiasts with the sober results of guarded experiment, given in by men of science and authority.’<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Some Unpublished Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Lippincott's Magazine* 13.710 (June, 1874).

When they are put together, the marginal note and this letter suggest a fairly extensive list of volumes with which Coleridge might be presumed to have had some acquaintance. Doubtless he had access to other important works which he does not happen to cite. He must, of course, have dipped into Mesmer; a copy of *Mesmerismus*, Berlin, 1814, annotated by the poet, was among the books that came into the possession of Lord Coleridge.<sup>22</sup> He could scarcely have missed the passage on the evil eye in Bacon's essay *Of Envy*, or the passage on fascination in *The Advancement of Learning*.<sup>23</sup> He may in all likelihood have read more than one of the Latin treatises on fascination of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as that by Christian Frommann.<sup>24</sup> There is, however, at least in the marginal note, an element of grandiloquence which will lead the knowing to suspect that in regard to this, as to other domains of research, Coleridge gives the impression that he has mastered more of the pertinent literature than has actually been the

<sup>22</sup> Haney, *Bibliography of Coleridge*, p. 121, No. 206. See also p. 112, No. 108; p. 124, No. 229.

<sup>23</sup> Book 2. *Works of Bacon*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, 6.256-7.

<sup>24</sup> *Tractatus de Fascinatione Novus et Singularis, in quo Fascinatio vulgaris profligatur, naturalis confirmatur, & magica examinatur*, etc., Norimbergæ, 1675. Among 'the Latinists of the sixteenth century' Coleridge would doubtless first of all include Paracelsus.

case. Under any circumstances, it would not at present be advisable to attempt a more detailed account of his investigations, especially if they left him in the position where he began.

For an understanding of his poetry, it seems advantageous to turn from his own later studies, however extended, to the general interest in mesmerism evinced by the contemporaries of Coleridge during the formative period of his boyhood and youth. This interest was lively on the Continent, because of the vogue of Mesmer and his immediate disciples (his paper on the discovery of magnetism having been published in 1779), and because of the stir aroused by the commissions appointed in France to inquire into the validity of his pretensions;<sup>25</sup> and it was lively in England shortly after, for example at London and Bristol, through the vogue of mesmerists like the celebrated Dr. John Bell and Dr. J. B. de Mainauduc.<sup>26</sup> This latter personage left an extraordinary reputation at Bristol, so that Coleridge should ultimately have heard about him there; though it seems probable that he must have known something of the great magnetizer while a schoolboy at Christ's Hospital in London.

The methods by which the different magnet-

<sup>25</sup> In 1784.

<sup>26</sup> See the *History of Animal Magnetism; its Origin, Progress, and Present State; as Delivered by the late Dr. De Mainauduc*, etc. By G. Winter. Bristol, 1801.

izers attracted a following, did not, in all likelihood, vary to any great extent in their essentials, and must often have resembled the procedure of Mesmer himself in detail. He 'carried a long iron wand, with which he touched the bodies of the patients; . . . often, laying aside the wand, he magnetized them with his eyes, fixing his gaze on theirs.'<sup>27</sup> In fact, he seems to have made use of the principle described by Binet and Féré as 'hypnotization by sensorial excitement,' that is, (1) 'by excitement of the sense of sight'—not (a) 'strong and sudden excitement, by luminous rays, by solar or electric light'—but (b) 'slight and prolonged excitement, by fixing the eyes on an object, brilliant or otherwise, which is placed near the eyes, and somewhat above their level.'<sup>28</sup> The eye of the magnetizer, would, if unusually brilliant, constitute a suitable object for the patient's gaze; hence, as Mackay notes, with the mesmerists and animal magnetizers in general, fixing with the eye was an established element in the practice: 'First, request [the patient] to resign himself; to think of nothing; not to perplex himself by examining the effects which may be produced. . . . After having collected yourself, take his thumbs between your fingers in such a way that the internal part of your thumbs may be in

<sup>27</sup> Binet and Féré, *Animal Magnetism*, p. 10.

<sup>28</sup> *Animal Magnetism*, p. 93. Compare Albert Moll, *Hypnotism* (1890), pp. 28 ff.; p. 72.



contact with the internal part of his, *and then fix your eyes upon him!*'<sup>29</sup>

Some conception of the stir created by the magnetizers in London while Coleridge was at school there, and at Bristol, which he subsequently visited, may be gathered from the following extracts, the first being supplied by Mackay:

'So much curiosity was excited by the subject, that, about [1788] a man named Hollo-way gave a course of lectures on animal magnetism in London, at the rate of five guineas for each pupil, and realized a considerable fortune. Loutherboung the painter and his wife followed the same profitable trade; and such was the infatuation of the people to be witnesses of their strange manipulations, that at times upwards of three thousand persons crowded around their house at Hammersmith, unable to gain admission. The tickets sold at prices varying from one to three guineas.'<sup>30</sup>

In 1786, as recorded by Sir Gilbert Elliot, many well-known people were experiencing the magnetic treatment, among them the wife of Richard Brinsley Sheridan:

'I am going with [Mrs. Crewe] today to Dr. Bell, one of the magnetizing quacks, and the first whom I shall have seen. Lady Palmerston,

<sup>29</sup> *Extraordinary Popular Delusions* 1. 293; Mackay quotes from the instructions of the magnetizer Deleuze (1813).

<sup>30</sup> *Extraordinary Popular Delusions* 1. 287-8.

Mrs. Crewe, Mrs. Sheridan, and Miss Crewe have been twice at Mainaduc's. They were all infidels the first day, except Mrs. Crewe, who seemed staggered a little by the number and variety of the people she saw affected by the *crisis*. The next time, Mrs. Sheridan and Mrs. Crewe were both magnetized, and both had what is called a crisis—that is, they both fell into a sort of trance, or waking sleep, in which they could hear what passed, but had no power of speaking or moving, and they described it as very like the effects of laudanum. . . .

'All the fine people have been magnetized, and are learning to magnetize others. The Prince of Wales had a crisis—that is to say, became sick and faint.'<sup>1</sup>

The next quotation, from Mackay, bears witness to the further renown of De Mainauduc at Bristol:

'In the year 1788 Dr. Mainauduc, who had been a pupil, first of Mesmer and afterwards of [Deslon], arrived in Bristol, and gave public lectures upon magnetism. His success was quite extraordinary. People of rank and fortune hastened from London to Bristol to be magnetized, or to place themselves under his tuition. Dr. George Winter, in his *History of Animal Magnetism*, gives the following list of them: "They amounted to one hundred and twenty-

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot, First Earl of Minto*, 1.111-113.

seven, among whom there were one duke, one duchess, one marchioness, two countesses, one earl, one baron, three baronesses, one bishop, five right honorable gentlemen and ladies, two baronets, seven members of parliament, one clergyman, two physicians, seven surgeons, besides ninety-two gentlemen and ladies of respectability." He afterwards established himself in London, where he performed with equal success.'<sup>22</sup>

Coleridge was at school in London from 1782 until 1791; it seems impossible that he should have escaped all knowledge of what was in the air, especially as it was about 1788 when 'his brother Luke came to walk the London Hospital, and Coleridge then thought of nothing but how he too might become a doctor. He read all the medical and surgical books he could procure.'<sup>23</sup>

The extracts that have just been given will suffice to indicate the amount of attention which was popularly bestowed upon 'facts of mind' during the youth of Coleridge and Wordsworth, and will help to explain the number of allusions to hypnotic fascination, hypnotic trances and suggestion, and the emergence from psychological 'crises', to be found in the poems designed by Wordsworth, and, more especially, by Coleridge, for the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798. The *Lyrical*

<sup>22</sup> *Extraordinary Popular Delusions* 1.287.

<sup>23</sup> Campbell, *Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, p. 12.

*Ballads* were not merely an experiment in adapting a selection from the language of humble and rustic life to the expression of the chief human emotions; to a large extent they represented studies in the psychology of the abnormal, in which Wordsworth treated such diverse types as *The Idiot Boy*, the *Forsaken Indian Woman*, and *Peter Bell*—cases in actual life, or such as might have occurred in actual life, though he was to invest them with the light of the poetical imagination. Coleridge, on the other hand, who was to deal with ‘supernatural’ events as if they were real, works within a much narrower range of subject-matter. To tell the truth, so far as his salient ideas are concerned he hardly goes beyond the province of animal magnetism; and the notion of ‘fixing’, and then of a sudden release, keeps getting the mastery over him after the fashion of a hobby bestriding its rider. Add to this conception of ‘fixing’ the readily associated idea of a good or an evil will in the magnetizer, which may naturally extend to blessing or cursing the person who is ‘fixed’, and we have the dominant notions in *The Three Graves*, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, *Christabel*, and much of the contemporary *Osorio*. There is, of course, a certain amount of Miltonic, Spenserian, and mediæval demonology interwoven or adumbrated, and therefore a further variation according as one decides the question mooted by ‘the Latinists’

of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that is, whether 'fascination' is ever accomplished without demoniac assistance. Let the reader who can at every point in the story say whether the lady Geraldine is a witch, or 'an angel beautiful and bright' and yet 'a fiend', or a mere unsubstantial phantasm in the mind of Christabel, decide how Coleridge might have wished to settle this question. Presumably, in his effort to render the 'supernatural' more 'real', he failed to distinguish accurately for himself just when he believed, and when he did not believe, in dubious or impossible phenomena; that is, he tried to steer a middle course between 'subjectivity' and 'objectivity'. Indeed, Coleridge's wavering on this point—his 'philosophical doubt,' even thus early, whether to present the strange occurrences of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* as frankly supernatural, or as in some measure capable of a rational explanation, on the ground that they existed only as mental hallucinations on the part of the main character, who saw them in a hypnotic trance, or as the vagaries of 'A Poet's Reverie', that is, the impalpable substance of trances seen within a trance, a dream of a dream—involves his poem in an unfortunate want of self-consistency.

When we examine particular instances, however, the characteristics of the ever recurring magnetic trance in Coleridge betray a remarkable resemblance. One person, or personified

object, 'fixes' another; the 'fixed' person or object thereupon remains so for a sharply defined period:

Seven days, seven nights, I saw that curse,  
And yet I could not die.<sup>24</sup>

Then, without warning, the spell is 'snapt', and the hitherto motionless subject of the spell may be thrown into violent activity. Or, if the fascinated person or object has been set in motion by the fascinator, the motion is suddenly retarded or wholly arrested when the trance of itself comes to an end, or when some other kind of magnet gains the ascendancy:

Till noon we quietly sailed on,  
Yet never a breeze did breathe:  
Slowly and smoothly went the ship,  
Moved onward from beneath.

Under the keel nine fathom deep,  
From the land of mist and snow,  
The spirit slid: and it was he  
That made the ship to go.  
The sails at noon left off their tune,  
And the ship stood still also.

The Sun, right up above the mast,  
Had fixed her to the ocean:  
But in a minute she 'gan stir,  
With a short uneasy motion—  
Backwards and forwards half her length  
With a short uneasy motion.

Then like a pawing horse let go,  
She made a sudden bound.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> A. M. 261-2. Compare Dante, *Inferno* 34.25-27. This may suggest other references in Dante, e. g., *Purgatorio* 32.7-9, 67-72.

<sup>25</sup> A. M. 372-390.

In Coleridge, for example in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, one may almost say that any being or thing can 'fix' any other, so long as he or it may be supposed to have or be a face or an eye. Thus the Mariner fixes the Wedding-Guest, and holds him so to the end of the story; the Sun, which is at one time a face and perhaps at another an eye, in a certain position, namely the equatorial zenith, fixes the ship, which is also personified; the Moon is a face—or is she a benevolent eye?—so influential that the 'great bright eye' of the Ocean is caught and swayed by her; in the Hermit's description the wolf seems to be 'pointing' the owl; and the Pilot's boy is fixed by the Mariner. Furthermore, in this same ballad there is an immense amount of apparently casual looking and watching and eyeing, or of refusing and being unable to look, of good and evil looks, of glances direct and askance, of brilliant and alluring light and color, of glistening and glimmering, attractive and repulsive objects, all of which becomes suggestive when connected with the more evident cases of fascination. All or nearly all the looking is enforced, or is done in order to avoid the peril of fixation:

My head was turned perforce away,  
And I saw a boat appear.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>A. M. 502-3.

Probably no other noun is so frequently employed in the ballad as the word *eye* (or *eyes*); and the repetition of words like *bright*, *bright-eyed*, *glitter*, *glittering*, *fixed*, *still*, *trance*, having been mentioned in a footnote, requires no further discussion.

In order to make the preceding remarks on Coleridge more intelligible, we need only scrutinize the following extracts from his poetry. Here and there a line or two of explanation, or a footnote, will be added, when either may seem to be desirable; for order and transition in this material I may trust to a somewhat mechanical grouping—even though the groups patently overlap, and sometimes include mere verbal resemblances between passages where the hypnotic influence is not alluded to and those in which it is.

1. The bright flashing or glittering eye:

- (a) It is an ancient Mariner,  
And he *stoppeth* one of three.  
'By thy long grey beard and *glittering eye*,  
Now wherefore *stopp'*st thou me?' A. M. 1-4.

- (b) *Bright-eyed* Mariner. A. M. 20, 40.

- (c) 'I fear thee and thy *glittering eye*,"  
And thy skinny hand so brown.' A. M. 228-9.

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" 'And constrained by that *glittering eye*, Hypatia knelt before her' [Miriam]. Kingsley, *Hypatia*.



- (d) The Mariner, whose *eye* is *bright*,  
Whose beard with age is hoar,  
Is gone. *A. M.* 618-620.

- (e) Again the wild-flower wine she drank:  
Her *fair large eyes* 'gan *glitter bright*.  
*Christabel* 220-1.

- (f) And both blue *eyes* more *bright* than clear,  
Each about to have a tear.

With *open eyes* (ah woe is me!)  
Asleep, and dreaming fearfully.  
*Christabel* 290-3.

- (g) I see thy heart!  
There is a frightful *glitter* in thine *eye*,  
Which doth betray thee. *Osorio* 5.149-151.

- (h) *Maria*. O mark his *eye*! he hears not what you  
say.  
*Osorio* (*pointing at vacancy*). Yes, mark his  
*eye*! There's fascination in it.  
*Osorio* 5.255-6.

- (i) And all should cry, Beware! Beware!  
His *flashing eyes*, his floating hair!  
Weave a circle round him thrice,  
And close your *eyes* with holy dread.  
*Kubla Khan* 49-52.

## 2. The dull eye:

- (a) There passed a weary time. Each throat  
Was parched, and *glazed* each *eye*.

A weary time! a weary time!  
How *glazed* each *weary eye*. A. M. 143-6.

(b) A snake's small *eye blinks dull and shy*.  
*Christabel* 583.

### 3. The wild look :

(a) 'God save thee, Ancient Mariner!  
From the fiends, that plague thee thus—  
Why *look'st* thou so?'—With my cross-bow  
I shot the Albatross. A. M. 79-82.

(b) A gust of wind sterte up behind  
And whistled thro' his bones;  
Thro' the holes of his *eyes* and the hole of his  
mouth  
Half-whistles and half-groans.  
A. M., 1 ed., 195-8.

(c) I moved my lips—the Pilot shrieked  
And fell down in a fit;  
The holy Hermit *raised his eyes*,  
And prayed where he did sit.

I took the oars: the Pilot's boy,  
Who now doth *crazy* go,  
Laughed loud and long, and all the while  
*His eyes went to and fro*.  
'Ha! Ha!' quoth he, 'full plain I see,  
The Devil knows how to row.' A. M. 560-9.

(d) Behold! her bosom and half her side—  
A sight to dream of, not to tell!  
O shield her! shield sweet *Christabel*!

Yet Geraldine nor speaks *nor stirs*;  
Ah! what a *stricken look* was hers!  
*Christabel* 252-6.

- (e) Alas! what ails poor Geraldine?  
 Why stares she with *unsettled eye*?  
 Can she the bodiless dead espy?  
*Christabel* 207-9.

- (f) His heart was cleft with pain and rage,  
 His cheeks they quivered, his *eyes* were *wild*.  
*Christabel* 640-1.

- (g) Then when he *fix'd* his obstinate eye on you,  
 And you pretended to *look strange* and tremble.  
 Why—why—what ails you now?  
*Osorio* (*with a stupid stare*). Me? why? what  
 ails me?  
 A pricking of the blood—it might have happen'd  
 At any other time. *Osorio* 3.175-9.

- (h) She started up—the servant maid  
 Did see her when she rose;  
 And she has oft declared to me  
 The blood within her froze.  
*Three Graves* 172-5.

#### 4. The evil look:

- (a) Ah! well-a-day! what *evil looks*  
 Had I from old and young! *A. M.* 139-140.

- (b) Beneath the lamp the lady bowed,  
 And slowly *rolled her eyes* around.  
*Christabel* 245-6.

- (c) And in her arms the maid she took,  
 Ah wel-a-day!  
 And with low voice and *doleful look*  
 These words did say:  
 'In the touch of this bosom there worketh a spell,  
 Which is lord of thy utterance, *Christabel*.'  
*Christabel* 263-8.

- (d) . . . . Geraldine in maiden wise  
Casting down her *large bright eyes*,

. . . . .  
And folded her arms across her chest,  
And couched her head upon her breast,  
And *looked askance* at Christabel—  
Jesu, Maria, shield her well!

*Christabel* 573-4, 579-582.

- (e) And sometimes starting up at once  
In green and sunny glade,—

There came and *looked him in the face*  
An angel beautiful and *bright*;  
And that he knew it was a Fiend,  
This miserable Knight!

*Love* 47-52.

5. The eye and the curse; *e. g.*, the mother's, brother's, widow's, or orphan's curse, and the dead man's curse:

- (a) Beneath the foulest mother's curse  
No child could ever thrive:  
A mother is a mother still,  
The holiest thing alive.

*Three Graves* 255-9.

- (b) To him no word the mother said,  
But on her knee she fell,  
And fetched her breath while thrice your hand  
Might toll the passing-bell.

'Thou daughter now above my head,  
Whom in my womb I bore,  
May every drop of thy heart's blood  
Be curst for ever more.'

*Three Graves* 134-141.

- (c)                      What if his spirit  
          Re-enter'd its cold corse, and came upon thee,  
          . . . . .  
          What if, his *steadfast eye* still beaming pity  
          And brother's love, he turn'd his head aside,  
          Lest he should *look* at thee, and with one *look*  
          Hurl thee beyond all power of penitence? \*\*  
    *Osorio* 3. 80-1, 83-6.

- (d)    *Alhadra*. . . . I shall curse thee then!  
          Wert thou in heaven, my curse would pluck thee  
    thence.                      *Osorio* 5. 287-8.

- (e) Not all the blessings of an host of angels  
          Can blow away a desolate widow's curse;  
          And tho' thou spill thy heart's blood for atone-  
    ment,  
          It will not weigh against an orphan's tear.  
    *Osorio* 5. 203-6.

- (f) 'The curse liveth for him in the *eye* of the dead  
    men.'

The cold sweat melted from their limbs,  
 Nor rot nor reek did they:  
 The *look* with which they *looked* on me  
 Had never passed away.

An orphan's curse would drag to hell  
 A spirit from on high;  
 But oh! more horrible than that  
 Is a curse in a dead man's eye!  
 Seven days, seven nights, I saw that curse,  
 And yet I could not die.                      *A. M.* 257-262

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\*\* See also *Osorio* 1. 10-13, 20-21, 40-41, 80-81 (cf. *P. W.*, p. 458, No. 52), 144, 185; 2. 22-3, 84, 99-100, 106-7, etc.

- (g) All stood together on the deck,  
For a charnel-dungeon fitter:  
All *fixed* on me their *stony eyes*,  
That in the moon did *glitter*.

The pang, the curse, with which they died,  
Had never passed away:  
I could not draw my *eyes* from theirs,  
Nor turn them up to pray.

And now this spell was *snap*: once more  
I viewed the ocean green,  
And *looked* far forth, yet little *saw*  
Of what had else been seen.

A. M. 434-445.

—This is because what is behind him has the same effect as the eye of a fiend upon the sinner whom he is pursuing.

## 6. Enforced looking, refusal to look, and the effort to look away:

- (a) He holds him with his skinny hand,  
‘There was a ship,’ quoth he.  
‘Hold off! unhand me, grey-beard loon!’  
Eftsoons his hand dropt he.”

A. M. 9-12.

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” *Eftsoons his hand dropt he*: Though this may mean that the Wedding-Guest at first takes hold of the Mariner’s hand in order to free himself, and then desists as the spell begins to work, it may otherwise mean that the Mariner drops his hand, since he now can hold the Wedding-Guest by the power of the glittering eye.

- (b) Listen, O listen, thou Wedding-guest!  
 'Marinere! thou hast thy will:  
 'For that, which comes out of thine eye, doth  
 make  
 'My body and soul to be still.'<sup>40</sup>

A. M., 1 ed., 362-5.

(c) Lines 45-50 of *A. M.* represent a pursuit where we are to imagine the pursuer with his eyes fastened upon the back of the head of him who is being pursued. The pursued does not look around.

(d) And in *A. M.*, lines 140-152, the Mariner's eye is fixed upon a distant object, which, as it approaches, assumes the form of a ship.

- (e) All stood together on the deck,  
 For a charnel-dungeon fitter:  
 All *fix'd* on me their *stony eyes*  
 That in the moon did glitter.  
 The pang, the curse, with which they died,  
 Had never pass'd away:  
 I *could not draw my een* from theirs  
 Ne turn them up to pray.

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<sup>40</sup> The Wedding-Guest clearly refers to a magnetic emanation from the body of the Mariner. Mackay says: "The assertions made in the celebrated treatise of Deleuze are thus summed up: "There is a fluid continually escaping from the human body," and "forming an atmosphere around us," which, as "it has no determined current," produces no sensible effects on surrounding individuals. It is, however, "capable of being directed by the will;" and, when so directed, "is sent forth in currents," with a force corresponding to the energy we possess. Its motion is "similar to that of the rays from burning bodies." . . . The will of the magnetizer . . . can fill a tree with this fluid. . . . Some persons, when sufficiently charged with this fluid, fall into a state of somnambulism, or magnetic ecstasy; and when in this state, "they see the fluid encircling the magnetizer like a halo of light.'" *Extraordinary Popular Delusions* 1.291.

And in its time the spell was snapt,  
And I *could move my een*. *A. M.*, 1 ed., 439-448.

- (f) I *looked* upon the rotting sea,  
And drew my *eyes* away;  
I *looked* upon the rotting deck,  
And there the dead men lay.

I *looked* to heaven, and tried to pray.

I closed my lids, and kept them close,  
And the *balls* like pulses beat;  
For the sky and the sea, and the sea and the sky  
Lay like a load on my weary *eye*,  
And the dead were at my feet.

*A. M.* 240-244, 248-252.

- (g) Beneath the *lightning* and the *Moon*  
The dead men gave a groan.

They groaned, they stirred, they all uprose,  
Nor spake, *nor moved their eyes*.

*A. M.* 329-332.

The body of my brother's son  
Stood by me, knee to knee;  
The body and I pulled at one rope  
But he said nought to me.

*A. M.* 341-344.

- (h) The Mariners all 'gan pull the ropes,  
But look at me they n'old:

Thought I, 'I am as thin as air—

They cannot me behold.' *A. M.*, 1 ed., 374-7.

- (i) I turn'd my head in fear and dread,  
And by the holy rood,  
The bodies had advanc'd, and now  
Before the mast they stood.

They lifted up their stiff right arms,  
They held them straight and tight;  
And each right-arm burnt like a torch,  
A torch that's borne upright.



Their *stony eye-balls glitter'd on*  
In the red and smoky light.

I pray'd and turn'd my head away  
Forth looking as before. *A. M.*, 1 ed., 489-500.

(j) But soon I heard the dash of oars,  
I heard the Pilot's cheer;  
My head was turned perforce away,  
And I saw a boat appear. *A. M.* 500-503.

(k) The boat came closer to the ship,  
But I nor spake nor stirred. *A. M.* 542-3.

(l) I pass, like night, from land to land;  
I have strange power of speech;  
That moment that his *face I see*,  
I know the man that must hear me:  
To him my tale I teach. *A. M.* 586-590.

## 7. The bright and flashing object:

(a) I cannot chuse but *fix my sight*  
On that small vapor, thin and white!  
Variant lines in *Lewti*, *P. W.*, p. 568.

(b) The brands were flat, the brands were dying,  
Amid their own white ashes lying;  
But when the lady passed, there came  
A *tongue of light*, a *fit of flame*,  
And Christabel saw the lady's *eye*,  
And nothing else saw she thereby,  
Save the *boss of the shield* of Sir Leoline tall.<sup>41</sup>  
*Christabel* 156-162.

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<sup>41</sup> That is, besides the eye-like boss of the shield, Christabel sees what we often observe in the lower animals, cats, for example, but more rarely in human beings, when a beam of light is properly reflected from the retina of the animal or person into the eye of the observer. Compare the use made by Poe of this phenomenon in *The Tell-tale Heart*.

- (c)                   The smooth thin lids  
 Close o'er her eyes; and tears she sheds—  
 Large tears that leave the lashes bright!  
 And oft the while she seems to smile  
 As infants at a sudden light!  
 Yea, she doth smile, and she doth weep.  
*Christabel* 314-319.

- (d) A little distance from the prow  
 Those crimson shadows were:  
 I turned my *eyes* upon the deck—  
 Oh, Christ! what saw I there!

Each corse lay flat, lifeless and flat,  
 And, by the holy rood!  
 A man all light, a seraph-man,  
 On every corse there stood.

This seraph-band, each waved his hand:  
 It was a heavenly sight!  
 They stood as signals to the land,  
 Each one a lovely light."*A. M.* 488-495.

(e) With the images in Coleridge's description of the flaming seraph-band compare the fascination produced by the 'fire-flags' (*aurora borealis*) in *A. M.* 313-7; the parti-colored water in *A. M.* 269-271; and the glistening 'water-snakes' in *A. M.* 272-281.

8. The Sun personified, and represented as having a face or an eye with the power of fascination:

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<sup>44</sup> Compare Milton, *Paradise Lost* 6. 579-881:

At each behind  
 A Seraph stood, and in his hand a Reed  
 Stood waving tipt with fire.

(a) The sun came up upon the left,  
Out of the sea came he!  
And he shone *bright*, and on the right  
Went down into the sea. *A. M.* 25-28.

(b) The Sun now rose upon the right:  
Out of the sea came he,  
Still hid in mist, and on the left  
Went down into the sea. *A. M.* 83-86.

(c) Nor dim nor red, like God's own head,  
The glorious sun uprist. *A. M.* 97-98.

(d) The women sat down by his side,  
And talked as 'twere by stealth.

'The Sun peeps through the close thick leaves,  
See, dearest Ellen! see!  
'Tis in the leaves, a little sun,  
No bigger than your ee;

'A tiny sun, and it has got  
A perfect glory too;  
Ten thousand threads and hairs of light,  
Make up a glory gay and bright  
Round that small orb, so blue.'  
*Three Graves* 503-513.

(e) The western wave was all a-flame.  
The day was well nigh done!  
Almost upon the western wave  
Rested the broad *bright* Sun;  
When that strange shape drove suddenly  
Betwixt us and the Sun.

And straight the Sun was flecked with bars,  
 (Heaven's Mother send us grace!)  
 As if through a dungeon-grate he peered  
 With broad and burning face. A. M. 171-180.

(f) The thought is repeated in lines 185-6, the gloss to which reads: 'And its [the spectre-ship's] ribs are seen as bars on the face of the setting sun.'

(g) 'The ship hath suddenly been becalmed.'

And we did speak only to break  
 The silence of the sea !  
 All in a hot and copper sky,  
 The bloody Sun, at noon,  
 Right up above the mast did stand,  
 No bigger than the Moon.<sup>43</sup>

Day after day, day after day,  
 We stuck, nor breath nor motion;  
 As idle as a painted ship  
 Upon a painted ocean. A. M. 109-119.

(h) The sails at noon left off their tune,  
 And the ship stood still also.

The Sun, right up above the mast,  
 Had *fixed* her to the ocean:<sup>44</sup>  
 But in a minute she 'gan stir,  
 With a short uneasy motion—  
 Backwards and forwards half her length  
 With a short uneasy motion.

<sup>43</sup> And at mid-day from the mast  
 No shadow on the deck is cast.  
 Bowles, *Camdens* 40-41.

<sup>44</sup> For the sun as an eye, compare:  
 No longer . . . may I behold yon day-star's  
 sacred eye. Sophocles, *Antigone* 880-1.

Then like a pawing horse let go,  
 She made a sudden bound.     *A. M.* 381-390.

9. The fascination of the Moon, which is personified, and represented as a face or eye:

(a) Mother of wildly-working visions! hail!  
 I watch thy gliding, while with watery light  
 Thy weak eye glimmers through a fleecy veil.  
    *Sonnet to the Autumnal Moon* 2-5.

(b) 'At the rising of the Moon,'  
 We listened and looked sideways up!     *A. M.* 202.

—namely, at the star-dogged Moon. Whereupon,  
 One after one, by the star-dogged Moon,  
 Too quick for groan or sigh,  
 Each turned his face with a ghastly pang,  
 And cursed me with his eye.     *A. M.* 211-214.

(c) 'In his loneliness and *fixedness*, he yearneth towards the journeying Moon.'

The moving Moon went up the sky,  
 And no where did abide.     *A. M.* 263-4

*I. e.*, after a seven day's gazing at the eyes of the dead men, he fixes his eye on the Moon, which is, like the Sun, a face or an eye. Then he turns his face to the ocean, and watches the water-snakes as they glisten. He blesses them, the spell is 'snapt', and he is able to pray.

(d) 'Still as a slave before his lord,  
 The ocean hath no blast;  
 His *great bright eye* most *silently*  
 Up to the Moon is cast—

If he may know which way to go;  
 For she guides him smooth or grim.  
 See, brother see! how graciously  
 She *looketh down on him*'.<sup>48</sup> *A. M.* 414-421.

- (e) *Osorio (with great majesty)*. O woman!  
 I have stood silent like a slave before thee.  
*Osorio* 5. 302-3.

- (f) The moonlight steeped in silentness  
 The steady weath'ring cock. *A. M.* 478-479

- (g) Silent icicles,  
 Quietly shining to the quiet Moon.  
*Frost at Midnight* 73-74.

- (h) On moonlight bushes,  
 Whose dewy leaflets are but half-disclosed,  
 You may perchance behold them on the twigs,  
 Their bright, bright eyes, their eyes both bright  
 and full,  
 Glistening, while many a glow-worm in the shade  
 Lights up her love-torch. *The Nightingale* 64-9.

<sup>48</sup> For lo the Sea that fleets about the Land,  
 And like a girdle clips her solide waist,  
 Musike and measure both doth understand;  
 For his great chrySTALL eye is alwayes cast  
 Up to the Moone, and on her fixèd fast;  
 And as she daunceth in her pallid spheere,  
 So daunceth he about his Center heere.

Sir John Davies, *Orchestra*, stanza 49.

The parallel to Coleridge was noted by Mrs. Humphry  
 Ward, in *Ward's English Poets*, 1880, 1.550.

See also:

In the broad open eye of the solitary sky.  
 Wordsworth, *Stray Pleasures* 16.

- (i) And he beheld the moon, and, hushed at once,  
Suspends his sobs, and laughs most silently,  
While his fair eyes, that swam with undropped  
tears,  
Did glitter in the yellow moon-beam! Well!—  
It is a father's tale.<sup>46</sup> *The Nightingale* 102-106.

# 10. Fascination of animals:

- (a) 'When the ivy-tod is heavy with snow,  
And the owlet whoops to the wolf below,  
That eats the she-wolf's young.' *A. M.* 535-7.
- (b) And what can ail the mastiff bitch?  
Never till now she uttered yell  
Beneath the *eye* of Christabel.<sup>47</sup>  
*Christabel* 149-151.
- (c) When lo! I saw a bright green snake  
.....  
Close by the dove's its head it crouched;  
.....  
This dream it would not pass away—  
It seems to live upon my eye!  
*Christabel* 549, 552, 558-9.
- (d) A snake's small *eye* blinks *dull* and shy,  
And the lady's *eyes* they shrunk in her head,  
Each shrunk up to a serpent's *eye*,  
And with somewhat of malice, and more of dread,  
At Christabel she *look'd askance*!—  
One moment—and the sight was fled!

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. *P. W.*, p. 456, No. 37.

<sup>47</sup> A searching study of Coleridge's use of the supernatural in *Christabel* is to be found in Mr. Ernest Hartley Coleridge's edition of the poem (London, 1907). See also the comprehensive treatise, in two volumes, on the evil eye, by Dr. S. Seligman: *Der Böse Blick*, Berlin, 1910.

But Christabel in dizzy *trance*  
 Stumbling on the unsteady ground  
 Shuddered aloud, with a hissing sound;  
 And Geraldine again turned round,  
 And like a thing, that sought relief,  
 Full of wonder and full of grief,  
 She rolled her *large bright eyes* divine  
 Wildly on Sir Leoline.

The maid, alas! her thoughts are gone,  
 She nothing *sees*,—*no sight but one*!  
 The maid, devoid of guile and sin,  
 I know not how, in fearful wise,  
 So deeply had she drunken in  
 That *look*, those shrunken serpent *eyes*,  
 That all her features were resigned  
 To this sole image in her mind:  
 And passively did imitate  
 That *look* of dull and treacherous hate!

. . . . .  
 And when the *trance* was o'er, the maid  
 Paused awhile, and inly prayed.

*Christabel* 583-606, 613-614.

It may throw a further light on Coleridge's conception of the power of the eye, if we briefly examine Wordsworth's use of a similar conception in *Peter Bell*, especially if we remember that this poem was written as a sort of counter to *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. Wordsworth employs the idea of ocular fascination, but in such a way that we can see its explanation on wholly rational grounds. Peter fancies that he is under the control of supernatural influences, but the reader knows that Peter is fascinated, not from without, not by spirits or emanations



from persons or things external, but from within by his own fears, that is, by the 'spirits of the mind', reacting upon the outer environment. Wordsworth makes use of a sort of 'facts of mind', the existence of which has never been disputed. Furthermore, with Wordsworth, ocular fascination is only one device out of many whereby the hero's conversion is effected. There are a dozen other means to his salvation, with which, however, we have no present concern. To be compared, then, with the passages from Coleridge are the following passages from *Peter Bell*.

First, the one in which the 'shining hazel eye' of the Ass is turned toward Peter, and again turned away from him to the object in the water. Next, the one in which Peter's eye becomes fixed upon the object in the water, the fixation being accompanied by a host of images of the most diverse kinds, that flash and throng through Peter's brain. Next, the one in which

The mosques and spires change countenance,  
And look at Peter Bell ! <sup>48</sup>

Nor may we forget the good soul whose eye is fascinated by the ghostly apparition of a word (unnamed) formed by the wick of the taper falling on the page of his book. This account, of course, has a more or less humorous intention,

<sup>48</sup> P. B. 689-690.

as has also the description of the Ass turning his head to grin at Peter, while Peter eyes the Ass and grins back. Two representative passages from the ballad may be quoted:

He looks, he cannot choose but look;  
Like some one reading in a book—  
A book that is enchanted.

Ah, well-a-day for Peter Bell!  
He will be turned to iron soon,  
Meet Statue for the court of Fear.<sup>49</sup>

And now the Spirits of the Mind  
Are busy with poor Peter Bell;  
Upon the rights of *visual sense*  
Usurping, with a prevalence  
More terrible than *magic spell*.

.....

The sweat pours down from Peter's face,  
So grievous is his heart's contrition;  
With agony his *eye-balls* ache  
While he beholds by the furze-brake  
This miserable vision!<sup>50</sup>

That the normal emotions of the human spirit may endure sufferings more terrible than those produced by 'magic spell' is Wordsworth's tacit criticism upon some of the devices employed by Coleridge. A more prolonged comparison than can here be made between *The Rime of the*

<sup>49</sup> P. B. 518-523.

<sup>50</sup> P. B. 916-920, 931-5.

*Ancient Mariner* and *Peter Bell* would bring out further interesting differences in the treatment of detail by the two poets. It is enough to say that in the happy fitting of details into a general plan, and the transition from one incident to the next, the superiority lies altogether on the side of Wordsworth. For one thing, since he is more fertile he is not compelled to make the same notion do duty, under various disguises, for the machinery throughout an entire ballad. If he does repeat himself, the repetition is not of a questionable and, after all, unimportant phenomenon, such as that of ocular hypnosis. As for Coleridge, one can scarcely maintain that the passages here collected tend to ennoble one another in such a fashion as to increase our respect for this author. It is disappointing to find his 'poet's eye' continually 'fixed' by so trivial a 'fact of mind'.

## A MIDDLE-IRISH FRAGMENT OF BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BY EDWARD G. COX, PH.D.

The following text is taken from Laud<sup>1</sup> 610, fol. 89b1, a vellum manuscript in the Bodleian Library, and is printed entire for the first time<sup>2</sup> in *Anecdota*, vol. iii, 1910. Other works testifying to the interest the mediæval Irish felt in the "breomra bocera" are the "Carlsruhe Bede,"<sup>3</sup> glosses on *De Rerum Natura* and on *De Temporum Ratione*; the "Vienna Fragment,"<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Described by Todd in *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, ii, 336-345; by O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*; by Zimmer, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1887, 190-193; and by A. D'Arbois de Jubainville in *Catalogue de la Littérature Epique de l'Irlande*. It contains a large collection of miscellaneous pieces, written by different hands, ranging in date from perhaps the 12th century to the 15th. Among its most important contents are a version of the *Calendar of Oengus*, an imperfect copy of *Cormac's Glossary*, and fragments of *Accallam na Senorach*.

<sup>2</sup> Kuno Meyer has called attention to this text in *Zeit. f. celt. Phil.*, ii, 321. *Anecdota from Irish MSS.*, ed. by O. J. Bergin, R. I. Best, Kuno Meyer, J. G. O'Keefe, Dublin.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Zimmer in *Glossæ Hibernicæ*, 1881, and by Stokes in *Old Irish Glosses at Würzburg and Carlsruhe*, 1887. Zimmer dates its authorship at about the year 850.

<sup>4</sup> A re-reading of these Glosses, first publ. by Stokes in *Goidelica*, 1872, and by Zimmer in *Glossæ Hibernicæ* and his supplement thereto, has been made by Strachan in *Rev. Celt.*, xxiii, 40 ff. Both Bedes are included in the *Thesaurus Palæohibernicus*, 1901-1903.

glosses on part of the treatise *De Temporum Ratione*; the *Betha Fursa*,<sup>5</sup> Life of Fursa, the abbot of Lagny, whose life set forth by Bede in Bk. iii, ch. xix, of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, is translated very closely by some unknown Irish writer. Furthermore Bede's name is mentioned in "A Fragment of the Old Irish Psalter,"<sup>6</sup> and his division of the ages of the world is followed by the author of the *Leabhor Gabala*,<sup>7</sup>—"The Book of Invasions."

The present work is a very free, curtailed translation of the first two books of the *Ecclesiastical History*. It is a good specimen neither of Irish translation nor of Irish composition. Its author was careless and inaccurate, and toward the end had apparently lost interest in what he was doing. He frequently misread the original, confused the facts and dates, and set forth the whole in a style that is loose, awkward, and compressed to the point of obscurity. The incident of Gregory's first meeting with the Old English slaves in the market-place the author gives in full; but he omits, in his account of Edwin's conversion, the beautiful allegory of the flight of the sparrow through the lighted hall from darkness into darkness. In his carrying over of proper names, the author is very

<sup>5</sup> Edit. and trans. by Stokes, from a Brussels MS., in *Rev. Celt.*, xxv, 385 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Edit., etc., by Kuno Meyer in *Hibernica Minorca*, 1894.

<sup>7</sup> See *Rev. Celt.*, xxix, 250.

inconsistent: at times he transfers them bodily, preserving a pseudo-Latin inflection; at other times he uses the Irish equivalents.

Nevertheless the translation is deserving of attention, not for its method and manner, but for the fact that it may have been made not much more than a hundred and fifty years after Bede's death, and for its contribution to our knowledge of Old and Middle Irish forms, at the stage when the transition from the Old to the Middle period was going on.

Kuno Meyer would place the date of its composition as early as the ninth century, practically in the Old Irish period. While many archaic features are observable, yet the Middle Irish characteristics prevail so largely that I am inclined to doubt by a century so high an antiquity. In other words, I should assign its composition to near the beginning of the tenth century. In this century the old verbal system was beginning to break up, and to this unsettled condition our text is no stranger. The fact that the deponents are fairly numerous, although some, especially the denominatives in *-igim*, have gone over into the active conjugation, leads me to prefer the beginning of the century to the middle.

I shall set down in some detail some of the evidence that points to a very early period of Middle Irish, following it up with a partial list of distinctly Middle Irish features, together

with a glance in passing, as it were, at the verbal system.

1. Here belongs the statement made above of the dependents.

2. With one exception, the particle *ro-* is still infix in compound verbs.

3. The distinction between prototonic and enclitic forms of the verb is fully observed, with the exception of such forms as *ruc*, *tuc*, *tánic*, *ránic*, etc., which, even in Old Irish, had pushed aside the prototonic forms.

4. No prototonic forms follow the negative *ní*.

5. The distinction between passive preterites and active preterites, marked in Middle Irish by the absence of aspiration of the initial consonant of the verb in the former case, and by its presence in the latter, is not observed here.

6. Eclipsis is seldom indicated; aspiration is very sporadic.

7. The article still clings to some of the Old Irish forms, e. g., *inna*, gen. sg. fem.; *a*, acc. sg. neut. In the main, however, the forms are confused.

8. The neuter has not wholly been absorbed into the masculine inflection.

9. The accusative plural endings of *o*-stems in *-u* are fairly well preserved.

10. The prepositions *la* and *iar* govern respectively the accusative and the dative, and *dochum* is found once with transported *n*.

11. After a preposition, datives in the plural have not yet gone over into the accusative.

12. The accusative sometimes precedes its governing verb, and not infrequently the subject does also, unless the copula is supposed to have been brought forward the subject. Note such cases as *Sabinet ba flaith*, §28; *Éduni in rí rochuinnig-side ingin*, §29; *Trí cinéla Saxan táncatar assin Germain*, §19.

Similarly I append some distinctly Middle Irish characteristics:

1. Specific relative forms of the verb are not used.
2. After *ro-* *h* is often inserted to prevent hiatus.
3. After *amal*, "as though," the negative used is *na* in place of *ní*.
4. There are no instances of the relative *-n-*.
5. The declension of *i*-stems is unsettled, and in *o-* and *io-* stems *u*-infection is wanting.
6. Transported *n* after accusative and after nominative neuters is wanting.
7. Neither the reflexive nor the emphasizing pronouns are used in strict accord with case, number, and person.
8. The following words are peculiar to Middle Irish: *cethri*, §13, for *cethir*; *cúic*, §3, for *oúic*; *dochuas*, §14, for *dochoas*; *cloidem*, §18, for *claideb*; *donafib*, §22, and *iarsnafib*, §23, for *donaibhf* and *iarsnaibhf*; *ona*, §30, *isna*, §1, *dona*, §19, for *onaib*, *isnaib*, *donaib*; *na*, §26, for *ina*; *bam*, §24, 1st sg. fut. of subst. verb; *corbam*, §29, 1st sg. subj. of subst. verb; *bud*, §24, 3rd sg. second. subj. of copula.
9. There are no instances of the use of the affixed pronoun.

Some of the more common orthographical peculiarities are:

- a* for -*æ*: *techta*, §22; *arsata*, §1; *bliadna*, §8; *menma*, §29; *cara*, §29.
- ai* for *oi*: *dáine*, §18; *taisechu*, §18.
- a* for -*e*: *déna*, §30; *eclastacda*, §36.
- æ* for *ai*: *inrætar*, §18; *gæ*, §18, *aræle*, §11.
- ai* for *æ*: *laichaib*, §24; *cumachtai*, §23.
- ai* for *i*: *laichaib*, §24; *athair*, §9; *cathair*, §26.
- i* for *e*: *cinéla*, §19; *bréthri*, §20; *buidi*, §24; *tuaiti*, §4.
- d* for *th* final: *tuaid*, §29; *inrud*, §15; *dogníd*, §29.
- dh* for *d* final: *cheilebradh*, §34; *cladh*, §14; *cóicedh*, §27.
- dh* for *d* internal: *suidhi*, §29; *comardha*, §33.
- gh* for *g* final: *cathraigh*, §23; *chláraigh*, §33; *clerigh*, §23.



*th* for *d* internal: cennathaig, §2; irnaighthib, §23.  
*nd* for later *nn*: and, §20; roindia, §29; cend, §19;  
 afriund, §22.

The more important details of the verbal system are as follows:

**Infixd pronouns:** dia-no-m-soéra, §30, 1st sg.; no-t-uas-laicfind, §30, 2nd sg.; ra-foglaim, §2, 3rd sg. masc.; con-id-romarb, §8, 3rd sg. masc.; nach-a-ragbad, §23, 3rd sg. masc.; do-s-fuc, §22, 3rd sg. fem.; ro-n-fáided, §22, 1st pl.; ní-s-léicset, §15, 3rd pl.; ro-s-tuc, §2, 3rd pl.; ro-s-dígbatar, §14, 3rd pl.

**Prototonic forms:** forácaib, §28; dochuaid, §19; dorat, §23; dorochair, §33; dorigne, §23.

**Enclitic:** farcaib, §4; co n-dechaid, §29; ní tharsat, §15; i torchair, §23; ní chumaic, §23.

**Perfects:** tánac, §29, 1st sg.; co r-ránic, §5, 3rd sg.; atchon-daire, §30, 3rd sg.

**T-pret.:** atbath, §29, 3rd sg.; atbert, §23, 3rd sg.; atracht, §33, 3rd sg.; conérrachtatar, §19, 3rd pl.; doruacht, §14, 3rd sg.

**S-pret.:** The majority of these preterites are perfective preterites: roattrebsat, §23, 3rd pl.; rocathaigset, §14, 3rd pl.; rochosecair, §23, 3rd sg.; rodlúthus, §29, 1st sg.; dorónsat, §14, 3rd pl.; roforcan, §1, 3rd sg.; ní léic, §31, 3rd sg.; rofáid, §33, 3rd sg.

**Reduplicated pret.:** dochuaid, §19; dochoid, §19, 3rd sg.; fúair, §1, 3rd sg.; adchuala, §29, 3rd sg.; otcualatar, §14, 3rd pl.

**Unredup. pret.:** dorochair, §33, 3rd pl.; lotar, §14, 3rd pl.

**Ro-less pret.:** con-acca, §24, 3rd sg.

**F-fut.:** dídltaib, §29, 1st sg.; atchluinfe, §30, 2nd sg.; mairfed, §29, 3rd sg.; ricfaidhi, §22, 2nd pl.; canfaid, §24, 3rd pl.

**Redup.-fut.:** atbéra, §23, 3rd sg.; fogébhaidh, §22, 2nd pl.

**S-fut.:** tæthaisti, §24, 2nd pl.

**Secondary f-fut.:** óentaigfitis, §24, 3rd pl.; ordaigfed, §23, 3rd sg.

A-subj.: dernaí, §30, 3rd sg.; marba, §29, 3rd sg.; conorragba, §23, 3rd sg.

S-subj.: coemos, §29, 1st. sg.; coemsat, §29, 3rd pl.

Secondary a-subj.: léictis, §19, 3rd pl.; nosaiged, §18, 3rd sg.; rochométad, §22, 3rd sg.; ro-h-ordned, §23, 3rd sg.; rothorromad, §29, 3rd sg.

Sec. s-subj.: tístais, §14, 3rd pl.

Deponents: rofaidestar, §19, 3rd sg. s-pret.; rofaidhestar, §34, the same; forodomair, §9, 3rd sg. s-pret.: ropritchastar, §22, 3rd sg. s-pret.; ro-h-assair, §17, 3rd sg. pret. in -ai; tucsamar, §22, 1st pl. perf.; fesamar, §22, 1st pl. s-subj.; rochreitsetar, §19, 3rd pl. s-pret.

Passive: ro-h-ordned, §26, 3rd sg. s-pret.; [f]rith, §18, 3rd sg. redup. pret.; robáded, §36, 3rd sg. s-pret.; rofailaiged, §29, 3rd sg. s-pret. (formerly deponent); rofecht, §32, 3rd sg. t-pret.; romarbta, §25, 3rd pl. s-pret.; dochuas, §14, 3rd sg. red. pret; dobérthar, §22, 3rd sg. red. fut.

Imperfect: rogníthe, §1, 3rd sg.; noimtheiged, §33, 3rd sg.

The above scheme, together with the *Notes*, which deal with additional linguistic features, does not pretend to be exhaustive. In the text itself I have indulged in a few minor changes, such as using the hyphen with transported *n*-, with the *h* inserted to prevent hiatus, and with the infixed pronouns, joining the particle *ro-* to the verb following, and making the accent constant. The translation, which is fairly literal, is intended to aid prospective students of Old and Middle Irish. The *Glossarial Index* merely calls attention to rare words or to forms of interest.

I take pleasure in expressing my obligation to Dr. O. J. Bergin, Professor of Old and Middle

Irish in the National University of Ireland, Dublin, for the explanation of many obscure passages.

## TEXT

1. Augtar inna h-ealathan sa Béid h-úasal-sacart<sup>1</sup> ecnaid fer ratha Dé i n-écna 7 i crabud. Fúair<sup>2</sup> Béid dano forthachtaighthid .i. Alpín in t-ab<sup>3</sup> ro-h-airmitnech, in fer ro-h-orcthe trisna h-uile disciplu<sup>4</sup> ina fer n-eólach Teodir epscolip] 7 Adrian inn abbad, ar rofogluind Alpín ó des-cippluibh Griguir nahí rogníthe<sup>5</sup> h-i cennuthaig Cantuariorum 7 isna ferannaibh comacraibhibh 7 ana<sup>6</sup> fúair ó sencassaibh na litre no ó tidnacul na senórach 7 rotharmhinuid Albín<sup>7</sup> co Béid innahí ro-h-asneid dó Nothelmus h-úasal-sacart na h-ecailsi lundunensis rodbo ó littrib no ó h-imaccalmaibh.<sup>8</sup> Is é Nothelmus tucastar epistil ó Griguir nach<sup>9</sup> ó Róim co Saxano. Isiat roforcan Albín comtis echlanta don sairse Béid nóibh.<sup>9</sup> Ó thossach *immorro* na staire co creitem na Saxan ó scríbendaib na n-arsata adiu 's anall rofoglaind Béid 7 rothinól. Daniel *immorro* episcopus Saxan funetta rofáidestar cuca ó h-epistlib stair a ceniúil fadéin 7 na Saxain des-certach 7 Inse Uechtæ.

2. Iris *immorro* intinscanta<sup>1</sup> Mercio[ru]m Saxorum<sup>b</sup> rafoglaim<sup>2</sup> corraba-side tresna dá h-úasal-sacart Ceddi 7 Cedda 7 co ro-h-athnuiged

<sup>a</sup> Leg.: h-imaccalmaibh.

<sup>b</sup> Leg.: Saxonum

treotha iris na Saxan airtherach .i. Lestingæu. Nahírogníthe h-icennathaig na Saxan airtherach arránic rainn de ó thidnaicthib na n-asartha, raind aile ó athárcud inn abadh h-Essi. Nahí immorro rogníth i l-leith ra° h-iris Críst h-icennathaig Lindis ro-h-oglaind ó guth bú in t-úasal-sacart Cimbericht. Tidnacle immorro Nordanimbrorum .i. sencassa Saxan túascertach, sochaide° ó fúair-seom 7 ro-s-tuc féin.

3. Britania<sup>1</sup> insola occiani cui quondam Albion no[me]n erat ocht cé<sup>t</sup> míle chemend ina fot .cc. ina lethet inna h-imtimcell immorro .i. cúic míle sechtmogat fo h-ocht [cé<sup>t</sup>] cethrachat.<sup>2</sup> Oct cathracha fichet inti 7 cúic bér<sup>lai</sup><sup>3</sup> .i. Saxanbérla 7 bér<sup>la</sup> Brethnas 7 bér<sup>la</sup> Cruithnech 7 Góedelg 7 Laten.

4. Anno .xl°. natiuitatem Christi .i. cethracha bliadan ría n-gein Críst tánic Gaius Ilius i nn-Inis Bretan, co fargaib a longa 7 a slúag in cé<sup>t</sup> fecht, 7 co farcaib Labienus<sup>1</sup> tribunus. Ruc-som fo deoid giullu Inse Bretan.

5. Cluid Cessar in cethramad rí iar n-Iúil<sup>1</sup> tánic a n-Inis Bretan co r-ránic co h-Insi h-Orc ab incarnatione Domini .clvi.

6. Marcus Antonius cona bráthair .i. Lucio Aurilio Commodo cretim i nn-In[is] Bretan. Ab incarnatione Domini .clxxx. ix. Seuerus Affer Tripolitanus tánic i n-Inis Bretan, Lep<sup>tis</sup> ainm a chathrach sin Affraic, in xuii. rí iar

<sup>1</sup> Leg.: na.

n-Iúil. Is leis dorónad clad Saxan. Atbath h-i Cair Abroic.<sup>1</sup>

7. Dá mac occa .i. Bassianus 7 Geta. Ba sein rogabh in ríge,<sup>1</sup> ainm dó Antonín, ab incarnatione Domini .ccclxxxui.

8. Dioclisten in tres rí ar .xxx. iar n-Iúil, 7 Maximen tánic i nn-Inis Bretan. Isna h-aimsir rogab Carausius ríge Bretan .uii. m-bliadna conidromarb<sup>1</sup> Alectus, co r-rogaib-side ríge trí bliadna conidromarb Asclipidotus 7 ba rí-side re .x. bliadan.

9. Dioclisten i n-airthiur in domuin ac ingreim na Crístaide 7 Maximen ina h-iartur. h-Issind ingreim-se forodomair Alpan nóeb 7 Aaron 7 Iúil airchinnech Cathrach Legionum.<sup>1</sup> Isind aimsir-se atbath Constans rí Bretan athair Constantín meic Helinæ .i. caratben Constantín. Roscríb Eutropius conid ann rogab Constantín a ríge ar tús i nn-Inis Bretan.

10. Dáig rogab a h-athair flaithius Franc 7 Hespaineach i m-bethaid Dioclisten ab incarnatione .ccclxui.

11. Gratianus cethrachad rí 6 Iúil, isna h-aimsir-side rogab aræle Maxim ríge Brettan ab incarnatione Domini .cccxciii.

12. Arcadius i r-ríge in domuin .i. mac Theothois<sup>1</sup> in tres rí ar .xl. iar n-Augúist. Pilagius Brit do gabail ersi<sup>2</sup> 7 do thogail na Crístaídi.

13. Ab incarnátione Domini .cccc. uii. Cethri bliadna .xl.<sup>1</sup> resin debliadain togla Róma<sup>2</sup>

ó h-Elair rí na n-Goth rorígadh Gratian córaid i m-Brethnaib 7 romarbad iartain. Constantín iartain rí ó anmain in chóro<sup>3</sup> innáas ó inracus conidromarb Constantinus Comes tré forcongru Honorii. Tánic Constans a mac a manchaine 7 rogabh ríge.

14. Robrissed tra Róim iartain millisimo .c°. xl.° uii.° bliadain ó rocomtaiged. Is é sin crích flaithusa Rómán for Inis Bretan, iar .ccclxx. bliadan ó rogabh Iúil Inis Bretan tra ro-s-dígbatar Románaigh imma miltnecht 7 nir farcabsat ócbad *no áes engna*<sup>d</sup> intí 7 rucsat Románaigh 7 ní-s-léicset h-úadib etir. IS aire sin dorónsat Góedil 7 Cruithnig na dá chiniud chomfochraibe sin brait 7 creich díbh. Do-chuas<sup>1</sup> ó Bretnaib co n-epistlib co r-Románchu ar dáig cobartha, 7 doruacht miltnect calma cucu 7 dorrónad clad accu dar in n-insi ri h-ucht Cruthnech 7 Góedel, 7 dochuatar dia taig iartain. Fo cétoir táncatar na námait 7 rothunsetar Bretnu amal gort abbaig. Rofáitte<sup>2</sup> na techtairi dorisse 7 doruact legion do chobair Bretan 7 rochathaigset ri náimdebh Brettan 7 ro-h-athnuged in cladh leo dorrigned la Seuerus. Ba do clochaib in fecht sain .i. uii. traiged ina lethe 7 .xii. ina h-arde,<sup>3</sup> o muir co m-muir a fott. Túir imda fair 7 daingnigther amal na tístais dorís<sup>4</sup> dia cobair 7 lotar as. Otcualatar Góidil 7 Cruithnig amal chóno altafocháirib<sup>5</sup> dochuatar

<sup>d</sup> *Leg.*: engnama.

foithib ab incarnatione Domini .cccc. xxui. Teothois Iunior post Honorium in cethramad rí .xl. iar n-Augúist.

15. Palladius dochum n-Érenn<sup>1</sup> a papa Celistino. h-I .xxxiii. in Teothois sin rucad epistil ina m-bríathar-sa ó Bretnaib dochum in consuil diarbo ainm Cóetium<sup>2</sup> .i. 'Nos repellunt barbari ad mare, [mare] repellit ad barbaros. Inter hæc oriuntur duo genera funerum, id est aut iugulamur aut mergimur.' Act cena ní tarsat Románaig dia n-aid, deithbir ón iarsinn aimsir sin roboi Bledla 7 Attila dá rí na n-Umuneta<sup>3</sup> h-ic inrud Román co romalartsatar cid Eoroip uili 7 co tánicc gorta mór dia n-éis.

16. Marb *immorro* sochaide do Bretnaib do gortai iarna slait ma n-uile biad do Cruthnibh 7 do Góedelaibh.

17. Tánic immed messa 7 toraid iarsin gortai sin. Roassar iartain oc Bretnaib fledogugud imda isin bliadain sin ropo nessu. Ro-h-assair assaide<sup>1</sup> sarthol 7 étrad 7 follach Dé 7 ecailse. Tánic iartain plág tedma<sup>2</sup> 7 comérge trom na námat forro .i. na námait núa, Saxain a n-ainm-side. h-I trí longaib tra fotaib táncatar Saxain. Bretnaib *immorro* cona rí .i. Uertigern<sup>3</sup> rogabsat Saxano na sid co l . . . menmnach amal bid do dítin a t . . . h.<sup>4</sup>

18. Rochomóentadaigset *immorro* Saxain re Cruthentúaith 7 re n-Góedelo 7 roinrætar Inis Bretan uili 7 doratsat fo gein cloidem<sup>1</sup> 7 gæ a dáine<sup>2</sup> 7 a rígu 7 a taisechu, a tréun 7 a fainn,

a sacairt úasa n-altore 7 ní rith nech nosaiged forás mór iartain for Saxano.

19. Trí cinéla Saxan táncatar assin Germáin .i. Saxain 7 Angli 7 Iuti.<sup>o</sup> Dá chinél Iutarum<sup>f</sup> Contuar 7 Uictuani .i. attrebthaig Insi Bechte, 7 na Saxain funedcha, cinél h-i comair dond insi sin. Dá chenél na Saxan *immorro* n-airtheraig<sup>g</sup> h-uile 7 namedonaig 7 na Saxain funeta. D'Anghlis *immorro mediterreni* .i. lucht Caíri Ebróc 7 Orthon imbri. Dfí-side na toisig robatar resind longis .i. Orsa 7 Egist<sup>1</sup> dá mac Uectgilsí meic Guicthe meic Guecta meic Uicta meic Uechta meic Uoden meic Frelub. h-Eres Phelaig co mmór ind inbaid sin ac fúasnad Insi Bretan co tánic German nóeb cend na h-ecailsi Altadoren-sis 7 Lupus Tricasenus a Franccaib co rochobrat tar inn [in]lis trí rath 7 mirbuilib<sup>2</sup> 7 dochuaid German féin h-i tosach in chatha la Bretnu 7 ro-raidset na slóig ic dul isin cath tré forchongru in chleirig *Alleluia*, 7 rotheithset na námait fo chétoir. Doratsat Bretnu do dermat cech ole fúaratar 7 cach dígail, conérrachtatar catha 7 debthaocco féin, 7 ní tharsat h-onoir donasruithib robatarocco 7 dochoid dimmus 7 ole intib co r-rici a sacartu 7 a clerchu, 7 ní léictis bretha na firindi do faisnis dona Saxanaib robátar cid na n-óentaid féin, acht nocho dérig Dfí<sup>4</sup> a thúaithe feissin chóru lim rofuidestar<sup>5</sup> in Dfí

<sup>o</sup> riti *MS.*

<sup>f</sup> ritarum *MS.*

<sup>g</sup> *Leg.*: na h-airtheraig.



sein forcétlaide ba h-inracu rochreitsetar. Ab incarnatione Domini d°. lxxx°, u°.

20. Auric<sup>1</sup> in cethramad rí ar .l. ó Auguist i r-ríge in domain. *Cuius* anno[regni].x°. *Gregorius* sédem tenuit apostolicam. Cóica bliadan ar cé<sup>t</sup> ó thichtain Saxan cosein tánic *Augustín* co sochaidi do Chrístaidib do phroicept<sup>2</sup> bréthri Dé do Saxanaib. O doruachtatar Insi Tanatos dond leith anaer do Chantia dochuatar techta úadib co h-Edelbrect .i. ardrí Saxan descirt. Is and robói in Cantia.

21. Robói *immorro* muinte<sup>1</sup> *Augustín* .xl. fer 7 robatar etercertaide a fFranccaib maróen ríu do muintir *episcopi* Arelatensis .i. Etherius 7 rl.

22. Roraidset na techta resin ríge: 'O Róimh ro-n-fáideg<sup>1</sup> 7 tucsamar degscél lind .i. flaithus cen h-airchra donaffb chretit<sup>2</sup> Isu Críst mac Dé bí.' Rorecair in rí: 'Dobérthar dúib-si inní ricfaidthi a les co fesamar-ne ar comairle immon cretem.' Tánic clú na Crístaide a sétig<sup>3</sup> .i. Bercta, do chenúl rí[g] Franc, ar is amlaid do-s-fue<sup>4</sup> ó thustidib co rochomé<sup>5</sup>ad smacht nemélnide na h-irse. Epscop<sup>6</sup> úasal h-ic afriund dí cach lá. Ludardus a h-ainm-side. Tánic in rí arnabarach cona maithib do immacalldaim re *Augustín* 7 ropritchastar *Augustín* dó. Roraidh in rí: 'Isat sochrai chétus bar m-bríathra, acht noco chumcaim-se comchetfaid dóib, acht

<sup>1</sup> *Leg.*: ro-n-fáided.

fáilti chainhualrech fogébthaidh-se co roderbor-sa bar m-bríathra, 7 pritchaid do chách, ní tairmescaim-se immuib.'

23. Tuc in rí aitte dóib isin cathraig Doruensis. Lotar<sup>1</sup> isin cathraig croch Críst reompu co n-deilb Críst intí. Trebait isin cathraig co h-ennacc o bés céth-ecailsi na n-apstal o h-irnaig-thib grésachaib<sup>2</sup> ó [f]rithairib ó h-áinib oc forcétal cháich. Rochreit sochaide in dú ssin. Fo deoig<sup>3</sup> rochreit in rí féin. Ro-h-airfited o bethaid glain inna chleirech.<sup>4</sup> Dorat dóib cumachtai cumdaig<sup>5</sup> eclass inna cathrach archena. In Dorouensi i n-eclais nóeb-Martain ré cathraig amuig roattrebsat na clerigh, Britain o chéin ro-do-chumdaigset.<sup>4</sup> Iarsnafib-se trá dochoid Augustín co h-Etherius eppscop Arelatensis amal atbert Grigoir ris, co ro-h-ordned ann corbo h-úasal-epscop do chiniud Anglorum. Iar tuidecht dó dia thig<sup>5</sup> rofáid Lurint h-úasal-[s]acart 7 Petar manach do Róim do aissneis na Saxan do bith crístaidi, 7 is h-e-sium úasal-epscop, 7 araile imchomarca do thaiscidib na h-ecailsi, 7 ní chumaic in chumrí conorragba <sup>6</sup>. Rofáid *immorro* Grigoir araile leó do thennad na creitmi .i. Millitus 7 Iustus, Paulínus 7 Ruffinianus, 7 dorat palliu na l-láim do Augustín ón ordaigfed epscopu, 7 tucad dó dá epscop .x. do ordugud i n-inadaib saindradhachaib .i.

<sup>1</sup> Leg.: deoid.

<sup>2</sup> Leg.: cleirech.

<sup>3</sup> Leg.: con-da-ra-gba.

epscop i l-Lundain 7 pallium 6 Grigoir dó 7  
 epscop h-i cathraigh Erbroic<sup>1</sup> 7 pallium dó o  
 Gregorio 7 atbert Grigoir na sacairt Bretan co  
 bráthardo do fomugud dó, 7 atbert Grigoir cen  
 templu na n-ídal do scailiud acht a coisecrad  
 do Día 7 altóiri intib 7 tasse na nóem 7 rofáid  
 Grigoir do Augustín ar nach-a-ragbad diumus<sup>7</sup>  
 tría imad na mirbuile dorigne Dia per eum 'ar  
 is ri sochaide dís atbéra Dia i l-ló brátha non  
 noui uos.' Tuctha epistli úad co h-Edilbriect  
 dia buidechus ar gabail na h-irse 7 roahnestar<sup>m</sup>  
 Augustín dona h-óentadachaib. Augustín tra  
 dessid h-i sossud úasal-epscoip h-isin cathraig  
 .i. Cantia, 7 rochosecair in n-eclais ón urd  
 Románach, 7 rochosecair in n-eclais dorrigned la  
 h-Edelbriect sel ón chathraig i nn-anmaim  
 Pettair 7 Poil, 7 tucad a h-abdaine do Petar  
 isinn eclais sin. Cumsanait taissi Augustín cona  
 saigthigidib 7 taissi ríge Cantia<sup>n</sup> Petar immorro  
 in t-abb isind ucht mara dianid ainm Anfleot  
 7 rofáilsig Día a chorp 7 ro-h-adnacht isin chath-  
 raig .i. Bononia. Elfrid immorro isind aimsir  
 hi r-ríge Nordanimbrorum (.i. ó Umbra fo  
 thúaid) dorat-side cath do Ædan do ríge Scot  
 .i. cath cruaid i n-Degsastan (.i. Lapis Degsa)  
 h-i torchair Teodball brathair Aedilfrid.

<sup>1</sup> Leg.: Ebroic.

<sup>m</sup> Leg.: roaithnestar.

<sup>n</sup> Add. robáided (?)

## Finit primus liber.

24. Anno dominicæ incarnationis .dc. Grigoir do h-epiltin. Roscrfb Béid dia bethaid 7 dia gnímradaib 7 dia deithidin im Saxanaib. Laá n-6en dochoid in forum uenaliu co n-acca<sup>1</sup> dá macca[n] ro-chóema do Saxanaib and co n-gnúisib corera<sup>2</sup> co mongaib buidi co cnessaib taitnemachaib. ‘Can dóib so?’ ol Grigoir. ‘A h-Inis Bretan,’ ol na dáine. ‘Indatt Crístaide no indat pagándai?’ ol Grigoir. ‘Pagándai,’ olsiat. ‘Trúag,’ (.i. co n-osnaid), arse, ‘letheid ind lochta so for seilb diabail.’<sup>3</sup> Cid a h-ainm in cheniúil?’ ar Grigoir. ‘Angli,’ arsiat. ‘Is maith,’ ol Grigoir, ‘gnúisi ángel leo, cóir a rochtain<sup>4</sup> h-i comchrandchor ángel. Cid ainm a túaithi?’ ol Grigoir. ‘Deri,’ olseat. ‘Deri,’ ol Grigoir, ‘de ira eruti. Cid ainm ind rí?’ ol Grigoir. ‘Ælde,’ olsiat. ‘Alleluia canfaid,’ ol Grigoir, ‘do molad Dé.’ Dochuaid Grigoir co dían<sup>5</sup> dochum an papa 7 atbert fris forcét-laidi do chor do procept do Saxanaib ‘7 mad cóir,’ arse, ‘bam erlam re dul and.’<sup>6</sup> Nirba comairle lasin senod. Amal rogab *immorro* a h-apdaine rofáid Augustín ut dixi. Iarsein trá rotriall Augustín na h-irse robatar oc Bretnaib do díchor immon caisc 7 a n-6entugud 7 Saxain im 6eniris 7 oénchind. Atbertatar *immorro* Bretnaig na bud cend dóib Augustín<sup>7</sup> 7 na h-6entaigfitis h-ic tendad h-irsi Saxan. Atbert Augustín: ‘Ar nach áil dúib-si a m-

bráthris, dobérat cath dúib-si 7 tæthaistí léo.' Rocomallad anásin. Rolá Edilfrid a n-ár isind lucc dianid ainm Legacester oc Bret[naib] .i. Caer Legion (.i. *Ciuitas Legionum*). Tánccatar cleirig Bretan h-uili do airnaigthe ría laichaib iar cúl in chatha iar n-áine<sup>o</sup> trédinais dóib.

25. Othondairec Edilfrid rofoi<sup>p</sup> cuccu; mli 7 dá chét do chleirchib and 7 ní térna dñb acht .l. .ccc. septies<sup>1</sup> do manchaib Bennchair námma romarbta and.

26. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .dc. iiii. Millitum do h-ordned<sup>1</sup> i l-Lunnaind .i. cathair na Saxan airtherach. Tames eturru 7 Cantia. Sabinet ba flaith i l-Lundaind fo Edilbriht 7 dorrónad oc Edilbriht eclas do Phól apstal i l-Lundaind. Iustus *immorro* ro-h-ordned in Cantiaisin chathraig Dorobreus. Is intí dorigni in rí eclais do Andrias. Trí mñe a Doruuerui atbath Augustín.<sup>2</sup> Ro-h-ordned Lurint na inad dia éis. Millitus co r-Róimh, 7 tuc tascide imda ó Bonifait ón phapa.

27. Anno ab incarnatione Domini dc. xui. fichi<sup>1</sup> *immorro* ó thánic Augustín a m-Bretnu atbath Edilbriht in rí .i. in tres rí rogab ó Chantia co Humbra, Celin in rí tanaise, Edilbriht in tres rí. Redualt in cethramad. Éduni in cóicedh .i. rí Rordanimbrorum,<sup>3</sup> Osualt in seised, Ossio a bráthair in sechtmad.

<sup>o</sup> ndaine *MS.*

<sup>p</sup> *Leg.:* rofoid.

<sup>3</sup> *Leg.:* Nordanimbrorum.

28. Edilfricht tra mac Muric meic Octa meic Oric, diarbo ainm Oisc, meic Egist. Edball mac Edilbriht na h-inad 7 roléice creitim ar in pagánacht, 7 romarb Saperict<sup>1</sup> rí Lundaindi, forácaib-side trí maccu gentlide. Dochoid Mellitus in t-epscoep ar teiched na pagándai co Cantia co Lurint.

29. Dochoid Lurint 7 Iustus<sup>1</sup> h-i Frangaib. Roimraid Lurint dul na degaid co rothairmescad imme ind-aislingi dia rochotail i n-eclais Petair .i. rosraigled<sup>2</sup> h-é ar thréd Críst do thrégud cen óeghaire. O thánic maten roindis dond rí. Ro-h-imeclaig in rí in comdid, 7 tucad Mellitus 7 Iustus a Francaib, acht níroléicset chuculucht Lundaindi Mellitus ar grád gentliuchta. Tar-rasair Mellitus in Cantia i n-eclais Petair. Atbath Lurint. Rogab Mellitus epscopoiti. Iustus i n-eclais Hirofenfe. Atbath Mellitus, Iustus na h-inad i n-ard-espocóiti do réir in pápa .i. Bonifait. Paulín<sup>3</sup> ind inbaid sin oc pracept do Saxanaib túascirt. Is é so fochund a chreitmi .i. Éduni in rí rochuinnig-side ingin Edilbriht rí Cantuariorum do mnai dó .i. Celtiberga<sup>4</sup> nó Tata. Roraid a bráthair Eadball na tibred<sup>5</sup> in ingin crístaidi acht do Chrístaide. Atbert Éduni na dernaí<sup>6</sup> olc ri Crístaidib acht roraid, 'Ní dfultab-sa,' ar se, 'mo bith crístaide dia coemos corbam inraice de'.<sup>7</sup> Tucad dó inn ingen 7 rofáided Paulín maróen ría. Ránie-side aidchi chasc do thig ind rí. Isin aidchi sin tánic araile for techtairecht diamlaithe.

Issin aidchi sin rothuisim a ben ingin dó .i. Ernfléd 7 robaisted 7 ro-h-edhpradh do Dá dia soérad dond écór doronai 7 do soérad a mná. Is í do baisted ar tús do Saxanaib túaiscirt. O'tchondaire Paulín corbo dulg menma ind rí do thairbirt i n-iris, roguidh in coimdig<sup>r</sup> co rothorromad a túaid 7 in rí. Rofailsiged do Phaulín trí faitsine<sup>s</sup> .i. fechtus robói for indarba 6 h-Edilfraid 6 rígh Nordanimbrorom co n-dechaid do thig Reduald rí Cantia for teiched<sup>a</sup> Edilfraid techta co Reduald co sétaib ar marbad Éduni fa dó 7 fa thrí. '7 cath fora seilb,' ar se, 'mina marba Éduni.'<sup>9</sup> Roraid Reduald co mairfed Éduni. Adchuala cara do Éduni 7 roraid ris: 'Tánac,' ar sé, dot breith dú na coem-sat a n-dís ní duit .i. Edilfrid 7 Reduald.' Atbert Éduni: 'Noco chumcaim-se. Rodlúthus mo síth 7 in rí.'<sup>10</sup> Dochóid úad a chara 7 roboi (.i. Eduni) i n-dorus na palaiti co toirrsech 7 co dubach 'na suidhi for carraice 7 ní fitir cid dognáid.

30. Atchondaire duine alaind anaichnidh chuca 7 roraid ris: 'Cid ar a fuile sund at óenur,' or se, '7 cách na chotlud? Dia n-gaba mh' forcétul-sa,'<sup>1</sup> ar se, 'no-t-uaslaicfind óna dubaib 7 ón t-sním fil ort, 7 noaslaicfind for ind rí na dernaí ole fritt, 7 biat<sup>2</sup> rí do chenful<sup>t</sup> féin.' Roraid-som: 'Dia no-m-soéra' ar na

<sup>r</sup> *Leg.*: coimdid.

<sup>s</sup> *Add* rofaid.

<sup>t</sup> *Leg.*: chenfuil.

cuimgib-si, dogén-sa a n-apraidh-se.<sup>4</sup> Dorat an duine sin fo cétoir a boiss for a chend 7 roraid: 'Is é seo in comardha, 7 tabair dot aire 7 comail do bréthir in tan sin, 7 déna in forcetal atchluinfe ind inbaid sin,' 7 dochoid úad iardain.

31. Tánic a chara chuca 7 roraid: 'Ba cob-said. Rocumscaided<sup>u</sup> cride in rí; ní léic ind rígan olc fritt.'

32. Rofecht in cath 7 dor . . . and<sup>1</sup> 7 rogab Éduni ind ríge.

33. Inn-araile ló tra tánic in fer Dé Paulín co h-Éduni 7 dorat a láim fora mullach 7 roraid: 'In tuc in comardha sa'? ar sé. Dorochair 7 se crithnaigthe<sup>1</sup> fo chosaib in cléirig, 7 rochreit 7 robaisted, 7 rofáid sacartu 7 míledu do dí-scailiud na n-ídal robatar h-i Cair, 7 robaisted i l-ló na casc i n-eclais Petair, 7 dorat sosad epscuip do Paulín isin eclais sin .i. eclais chlár-aigh, 7 dorigne tempulmór and iartain do chloch-aib. Atracht ireis 7 creitem co mmór h-i Nordanimborum 7 h-icond rí, co ro-h-erail cid creitem for Erbuald for rí Saxan funedach. Ropritchastar Paulín do chennathaig Lindifi den táeb andes do Umbra, 7 rochreit Blaica airrí na cathrach Linndocolínae. Noimtheiged óenben Inis Bretan ind inbaid sin ar mét in t-áide.

34. Honorius papa ind inbaid sin tar éis Bonifait 7 tuctha epistle úad do nertad h-irse Édune. Atbath an t-úasal-epscoep Iustus. Ro-

<sup>u</sup> *Leg.*: rocumscaiged.



gab Honorius na h-inad an *cóicedh* epscop ecailsi Doruuernensis .i. Augustín, Lurint, Millitus, Iustus, Honorius. Paulín roordnestar Honorius in Lindocolíno, 7 dochóid co Róimh 7 dorat Honorius in papa pallium dó, 7 rochind in papa cipé tan atbalad<sup>1</sup> epscop Doruuernensis epscop Caire do h-ordned neich na inad, 7 in fer aile masech,<sup>2</sup> ar na roscíthaighther tría réa fata na talman co r-Róim. Roíáidhestar dano Honorius epistle co Góedhelo do cheilebradh na casc .i. co manchaib Ia<sup>3</sup> .i. co Baetan co Cronan co Colman 7 Lasrian 7 Scellan.<sup>4</sup>

35. Dorochair tra Édune la h-Edball rí Bretan, 7 ré Penta rex Mercior[um] .i. rí castra.<sup>1</sup>

36. Anno dominicæ<sup>1</sup> incarnationis .dccciii. Ára móra h-i Saxnaib túascirt tar a h-éis. Ond anbthine sein ruc Paulínus Edilbercta i l-luing co Cantia 7 ro-h-airimed co h-onorach o h-Etball 7 ó Honorio episcopo, 7 doratsat lestra imda óir 7 argait do thimthirech<sup>2</sup> altore Dé, cros óir 7 Étune<sup>3</sup> 7 in cailech. h-Itat innosa in Cantia. Isin inbaid-si robáded Romanus erchonsol ecailsi Hirofensis for muir Etálda. Is don eclais sin ro-h-ordaig Paulín in pallium tucc ab [Hon-]orio. Iacob<sup>3</sup> *immorro* deochon Paulín fer eclas-tacda 7 fer nóeb 7 súi chantairechta<sup>4</sup> h-i Cair ré cíana.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Leg.*: thimthirecht.

<sup>2</sup> *Leg.*: cantairechta.

*Translation*

1. The author of this composition [is] the wise, noble priest Bede, a man [filled] with the grace of God in knowledge and piety. Bede found, however, an assistant, viz., Albinus, the very reverend abbot, the man educated by all the disciples of the learned men, Theodore, the bishop, and Hadrian, the abbot; for Albinus learned from the disciples of Gregory all that used to be done in the province of Kent and in the neighboring lands, and what he got from the written histories or from the tradition of the elders. And Albinus explained to Bede all which Nothelm, the noble priest of the church of London, related to him, either by letters or by conversations. The same Nothelm brought an epistle from Gregory . . . from Rome to the Saxons. Then Albinus taught so that they might be selected for the work of the holy Bede. Thus from the beginning of the history to the [time of] the faith of the Saxons, Bede learned and gathered from the writings of the ancients here and there. Moreover Daniel, bishop of the West Saxons, sent to him in letters the history of his own race, and of the South Saxons and the Isle of Wight.

2. As to the beginning of the faith among the Mercians he learned that it was through the two noble priests, Cedd and Cedda, and that through them the faith of the East Saxons was renewed

[he learned] from the brothers of the monastery that was founded by them, viz., Lestingham. All that used to be done in the province of the East Saxons, a part of it came from the traditions of the ancients, and another part from the narrative of the abbot Esius. All that used to be done in behalf of the faith of Christ in the province of Lindsey he learned from the living voice of the noble priest Cimericht. The traditions moreover of the Northumbrians, *i.e.* the histories of the North Saxons, many were they from whom he got [them], and he brought them himself.

3. *Britania insola occiani cui quondam Albion nomen erat* [is] 800 miles in length and 200 in breadth; in circumference, however, 4875 miles. [There are] twenty-eight cities in it, and five languages, viz., English, British, Pictish, Gaelic, and Latin.

4. *Anno .xl. natiuitatem Christi, i.e.,* forty years before the birth of Christ, Gaius Julius came to Britain, and he left [there] the first time his ships and his people, and Labienus, the tribune. At last he took pledges of Britain.

5. Claudius Caesar, the fourth king after Julius, came to Britain, and he reached the Orkneys.

6. *Ab incarnatione Domini .clvi.* Marcus Antonius with his brother, Lucius Aurelius Commodus [became king]. The faith [was preserved] in Britain. *Ab incarnatione Domini*

.clxxx. ix. Severus Africanus Tripolitanus came to Britain. Leptis [was] the name of that African city. [He was] the seventeenth king after Julius. The Saxon wall was built by him. He died in York.

7. He had two sons, viz., Bassianus and Geta. That one [*i.e.*, the former] held the rule under the name of Antonius.

8. Ab incarnatione Domini .celxxxui. Diocletian [was] the thirty-third king after Julius, and Maximian came to Britain. In their time Carausius held the rule of Britain seven years, until Allectus killed him; and he held the rule three years until Asclepiodotus killed him; and he was king ten years.

9. Diocletian [was] persecuting the Christians in the eastern part of the world and Maximian in the western part. In this persecution there suffered St. Alban and Aaron and Julius, chief men of the City of Legions. In this time died Constantine, king of Britain; [he was] the father of Constantine, son of Helena, *i.e.*, the concubine of Constantine. Eutropius wrote that Constantine first held the rule in Britain.

10. Then his father held the rule of France and Spain during the lifetime of Diocletian.

11. Ab incarnatione .ccclxui. Gratianus [was] the fortieth king from Julius. In this time a certain Maximus held the rule in Britain.

12. Ab incarnatione Domini .cccxciii. Arcadius, the son of Theodosius, the forty-third

king after Augustus, [succeeded] to the rule of the world. Pelagius, a Briton, adopted heresy and destroyed the Christians.

13. Ab incarnatione Domini .cccc. uii. Forty-four years. Two years before the destruction of Rome by Alaric, king of the Goths, Gratianus was set up ruler by the Britons, and was killed afterwards. Constantine was afterwards made king by virtue of the name rather than by virtue of fitness, until Count Constantine killed him by order of Honorius. His son, Constans, the monk, came and held the rule.

14. After that then Rome was destroyed millisimo .c°. xl°. uii°. [*i.e.*, in the 1147th] year after it was founded. That is the end of the Roman rule over Britain; 470 years after the time that Julius took Britain the Romans withdrew their military forces, and they left neither youth nor people of prowess there, and the Romans took away [their forces], and they left nothing at all of themselves. Therefore the Gaels and the Picts, the two neighboring races, raided and plundered them. One was gone to the Romans with letters from the Britons asking for help, and a brave military force came to them and a wall was built by them across the island [as a protection] against the Picts and the Gaels, and after that they went home. At once the enemies came, and they crushed the Britons as beavers [do] a garden. Messengers were sent again, and a legion came to the aid of the

Britons, and they fought against the enemies of the Britons, and the wall that was built by Severus was restored by them. The stones that time were seven feet in width and twelve feet in height; its length [was] from sea to sea. [There were] many towers on it, and it was strengthened as if they would not come again [*i.e.*, did not intend to return] to help them, and they departed. [When] the Gaels and the Picts heard [of it] they attacked them as wolves [do] sheep. Ab incarnatione Domini .cccc. xxui. Theodosius Iunior post Honorium [was] the forty-fourth king after Augustus.

15. Palladius [was sent] to Ireland by pope Gelastinus. In the thirty-third [year] of that Theodosius an epistle was brought in this word [*i.e.*, beginning thus] from the Britons to the consul whose name was Coetius: "Nos repellunt barbari ad mare, [mare] repellit ad barbaros. Inter hæc oriuntur duo genera funerum, id est aut iugulamur aut mergimur." But as a matter of fact the Romans took no notice. It was natural after that time that Bleda and Attila, two kings of the Huns, were devastating Rome and they even destroyed all Europe, so that a great famine came afterwards.

16. Meanwhile a multitude of the Britons died of the famine after being plundered of all their food by the Picts and the Gaels.

17. After that famine came plenty of acorns and fruit. Then abundant feasting increased

among the Britons in that following year. The more easily therefore increased lust and passion, and denying of God and the church. After that came a grievous pestilence, and a heavy assault of the enemy came upon them, viz., the new enemies, Saxons their names. In three long ships of war then the Saxons came upon them. Meanwhile the Saxons *na sid* (?) took Britain with its king, Vortigern, [full(?)] valiantly as if it were for a protection of their [peoples (?)].

18. Meanwhile the Saxons united with the Picts and the Gaels, and they plundered the whole of Britain, and they put to the edge of the sword and the spear their people, their kings, and their chiefs, their strong and their weak, their priests above the altar, and there was found no one after that who could preach the true knowledge to the Saxons.

19. Three tribes of Saxons came from Germany, viz., the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes. [There are] two tribes of the Jutes, the people of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight, *i.e.*, the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, [including] the West Saxons, a tribe [dwelling] opposite to that island. Two tribes of Saxons moreover, all the East Saxons and the Midland and the West Saxons. Of the Angles the mediterreni, *i.e.*, the people of York, and the Northumbrians. Their chiefs over the ships were Horsa and Hengist, two sons of Victgilsus, son of Guicthe,

son of Guecta, son of Vitta, son of Vecta, son of Woden, son of Freoþolaf. The heresy of Pelagius at that particular time [was] disturbing Britain very much until holy Germanus, head of the Church of Auxerre, and Lupus, of Troyes, came from the Franks, so that they helped the island through grace and miracles; and Germanus himself went into the front of the battle on the side of the Britons, and the host going into battle, through the help of the clerics, said Hallelujah! and the enemy fled at once. The Britons forgot every evil and every punishment they had endured, so that battles and quarrels rose among themselves, and they did not give honor to the sages that were among them, and contempt and evil entered into them even to their priests and their clerics, and they would not permit the judgments of truth to be told even to the Saxons that were in alliance with themselves. But God did not abandon his own people, or rather God sent teachers who were worthy to be believed.

20. Ab incarnatione Domini d°. lxxx°. u°. Maurice, the fifty-fourth king after Augustus [succeeded] to the rule of the world. *Cuius* anno [regni] x°. *Gregorius* sédem tenuit apostolicam. [It was] 150 years from the arrival of the Saxons up to the time Augustine came with a multitude of Christians to preach the word of God to the Saxons. When they reached the Isle of Thanet on the east side of Kent, they



sent messengers to Ethelbert, *i.e.*, the high-king of the South Saxons. At that time he was in Kent.

21. The people of Augustine moreover were forty men [in number]; there were interpreters from the Franks with them, [who were] of the household of the bishop of Arles, *i.e.*, Aetherius, etc.

22. The messengers spoke before the king: "We have been sent from Rome and we have brought good tidings with us, viz., an indestructible kingdom to those that believe in Jesus Christ, the son of the living God." The king replied: "All that you will need will be given to you until we know our counsel about the faith." The fame of the Christians came from his wife Bertha, of the race of the king of the Franks; for thus he received her from her parents, that she should keep uncorrupted the power of the faith. A noble bishop [was] offering mass for her each day. Liudhard was his name. The king came on the morrow with his nobles to converse with Augustine, and Augustine preached to him. The King said: "Your words are beautiful indeed, but I cannot [yet] assent to them; but you will get a gracious welcome until I can test your words, and do ye preach to every one, [for] I shall not hinder you."

23. The king gave them a dwelling-place in the city of Doruvernus. They went into the

city [with] the cross of Christ before them bearing the image of Christ on it. They dwell[t] in the city blamelessly in the manner of the first church of the apostles in constant prayers, vigils, fastings, teaching every one. A multitude in that place believed. At last the king himself believed. He was attracted by the clean life of the clerics. He gave to them besides permission to build the church of the city. The clerics dwelt in the church of St. Martin in Doruvernus outside the city. The Britons long ago founded it. After these things then Augustine went to Aetherius, bishop of Arles, as Gregory had said to him that he should be ordained there to be archbishop to the English race. After he came home he sent Laurentius, a noble priest, and Peter, a monk, to Rome to tell him that the Saxons were Christians, and he himself archbishop, and [to ask] other questions concerning the gifts of the church which brevity cannot admit. Gregory accordingly sent others with them to strengthen the faith, viz., Millitus and Justus, Paulinus and Rufinianus, and he gave the pall in his hand to Augustine, that is to say, he should ordain bishops. Twelve bishops were brought to him to be ordained in special places, viz., a bishop in London to whom a pall was given by Gregory, and a bishop in the city of York to whom a pall was given by Gregory. Gregory said that the priests of the Britons should be received in brotherly fashion by

him, and Gregory said that the temples of the idols should not be destroyed, but that they should be consecrated to God, and the altars in them and the relics of the saints; and Gregory sent [word] to him that pride should not seize him through the host of miracles that God has done per eum, "for God will say to a multitude of them on the day of judgment, non noui uos." Letters were brought from him to Ethelbert, thanking him for accepting the faith, and he ordered Augustine to unite with him. Then Augustine sat in the seat of the archbishop in the city, *i.e.*, Canterbury, and he consecrated the church after the manner of the Romans, and he consecrated the church that was built by Ethelbert a distance from the city in the name of Peter and of Paul, and its abbotship was given to Peter in that church. The relics of Augustine rest [there] with his successors, and the relics of the king of Kent. Peter, the abbot, however, [was drowned] in the bosom of the sea which is called Anfleot, and God showed his body, and it was buried in the city of Boulogne. Ethelfrid at this time [governed] in the kingdom of the Northumbrians (*i.e.*, from the Humber northward); he gave battle to Aedan, king of the Scots, *i.e.*, a hard battle at Degsastan (*i.e.*, Lapis Degsa), in which Theobald, brother of Ethelfrid, fell.

## Finit primus liber.

24. Anno dominicæ incarnationis .dc. Gregory died. Bede has written of his life, of his deeds, and of his care for the Saxons. One day he went in forum uenaliū and saw there two very fair lads of the Saxons, with ruddy countenances, yellow hair, and pleasing skins. "Whence are these?" said Gregory. "From Britain," said the people. "Are they Christians or pagans?" said Gregory. "Pagans," said they. "A pity" (with a sigh), said he, "that such people should be in the possession of the devil. What is the name of the race?" said Gregory. "Angles," said they. "It is well," said Gregory, "they have the countenances of angels; it is right that they should attain to the heritage of angels. What is the name of their country?" said Gregory. "Deira," said they. "Deira," said Gregory, "de ira eruti. What is the name of the king?" said Gregory. "Aelli," said they. "Allelujah they will sing to the praise of God." Then Gregory went quickly to the pope and said to him that teachers should be sent to preach to the Saxons, "and if it is right," said he, "I shall be ready to go there." [Such] was not the plan of the synod. As soon as he assumed the papacy he sent Augustine ut dixi. After that then Augustine attempted to remove the beliefs held by the Britons concerning Easter, and to unite them and the Saxons

in one faith and [under] one head. The Britons said, however, that they would not have Augustine for a head, and they would not consent to the strengthening of the faith of the Saxons. Augustine said, "Since you do not desire brothership with them, they will give you battle and you will fall by them." That thing was fulfilled. Ethelfrid made a slaughter of them in the place that is called [City of Legions by the English, but] Legacaestir by the Britons, *i.e.*, *Caer Legion* (*Ciuitas Legionum*). All the clerics of Britain came to pray for their heroes in the rear of the battle, after having fasted three days.

25. Ethelfrid saw [them] and he sent to them; twelve hundred clerics [were there], and only fifty of them escaped. Three hundred sevens of the monks of Bangor alone were killed there.

26. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .dc. iiii. Mellitus was ordained in London, the city of the East Saxons. The Thames [is] between them and Kent. Sabert was prince in London under Ethelbert. A church was built in London to the Apostle Paul by Ethelbert. Justus moreover was ordained in Kent in the city of Dorubreis. There the king built a church to [the apostle] Andrew. Three thousand (?) from Doruvernus Augustine died. Laurentius was ordained in his place after him. Mellitus [went] to Rome, and brought many gifts from Boniface, the pope.

27. Anno ab incarnatione Domini .dc. xui. the twenty [-first year] after the time Augustine came to the Britons, Ethelbert, the king, died. He was the third king who ruled from Kent to the Humber, Caelin [being] the second king, Ethelbert the third, Redwald the fourth, Edwin, king of the Northumbrians, the fifth, Oswald the sixth, and Oswy, his brother, the seventh.

28. Ethelbert then [was] the son of Irminric, the son of Octa, the son of Oeric, whose name was Oisc, the son of Hengist. Eadball, son of Ethelbert, [ruled] in his place, and he abandoned the faith for paganism. He killed Sabert, king of London, who left three heathen sons. Mellitus fled [from] the pagans to Laurentius in Kent.

29. Laurentius and Justus went to the Franks. Laurentius resolved to follow them until he was hindered by a dream, [which came to him] while he slept in the church of Peter, viz., he was scourged for leaving Christ's sheep without a shepherd. When morning came he told [it] to the king. The king feared the Lord, and Mellitus and Justus were brought from France, but the people of London did not let Mellitus [come] to them for love of heathenism. Mellitus remained in Kent in the church of Peter. Laurentius died. Mellitus assumed the episcopacy. Justus remained in the church of Rochester. Mellitus died; Justus [was chosen] to the archbishopric in his place according to the will of the pope, Boniface. Paulinus at that

time [was] preaching to the North Saxons. This is the occasion of their faith, viz., Edwin, the king, sought the daughter of Ethelbert, King of Kent, for theis wife, *i.e.*, Ethelberg or Tata. Her brother, Eadball, said that he would not give the Christian daughter but to a Christian. Edwin replied he would not do evil to the Christians, but he said: "I shall not refuse," said he, "to be a Christian, if I am able to become worthy of it." The daughter was brought to him, and Paulinus was sent along with her. He arrived at the house of the king the night of Easter. That night another came on a pretended message. On that night his wife bore him a daughter, Eanfled, and she was baptized and was offered to God for his absolution from the wrong he had done, and for the delivery of his wife. She is the first of the North Saxons that was baptized. Paulinus saw that it was difficult for the mind of the king to accept the faith; he prayed the Lord that he would visit his people and the king. It was shown to Paulinus through a vision, viz., one time he was exiled by Ethelfrid, the king of the Northumbrians, and he fled to the house of Redwald, king of Kent. Ethelfrid sent messengers to Redwald twice and thrice with treasures [to persuade the king] to kill Edwin. "War on his possessions," said he, "if he does not kill Edwin." Redwald replied that he would kill Edwin. A friend of Edwin's heard [it] and said: "I have come,"

said he, "to take you where the pair, viz., Ethelfrid and Redwald, can do nothing to you." Edwin said: "I cannot. I have made a compact with the king." His friend went away, and Edwin was sitting on a rock at the door of the palace, sad and sorrowful, and he knew not what he should do.

30. He saw [coming] toward him a beautiful stranger, and he [the latter] said to him: "Why are you here alone," said he, "and every one asleep? If you take my teaching," said he, "I should set you free from the gloomy thoughts and the anxiety that are on you, and I should prevail on the king that he would do no evil to you; and you will be king of your own tribe." He replied: "If you free me of these cares, I shall do what you say." The man placed his hand at once on his head and said: "This is the sign, and take heed and keep your word, and do the teaching you will hear at that time," and he went away after that.

31. His friend came to him and said: "Be steadfast. The king's heart has been moved; the queen did not permit evil [to be done] to you."

32. The battle was fought . . . and Edwin obtained the rule.

33. On a certain day then the man of God, Paulinus, came to Edwin and put his hand on his head and said: "Do you understand this sign?" said he. He fell trembling at the feet



of the cleric, and he believed and he was baptized. And he sent the priests and the soldiers to destroy the idols that were in York, and he was baptized on Easter Day in the church of Peter. And he gave the seat of bishop to Paulinus in that church, *i.e.*, the boarded church, and he built a great temple there afterwards of stone. The faith and belief increased greatly in Northumberland and with the king, so that he even enjoined the faith on Earpwald, king of the West Saxons. Paulinus preached to the province of Lindsey, the south side of the Humber, and Blaecca, the governor of the city of Lincoln, believed. At that time a woman used to walk [the length of] Britain by herself because of the peace.

34. Honorius [became] pope at that time after Boniface, and letters were brought from him to strengthen the faith of Edwin. The archbishop, Justus, died. In his place Honorius governed, the fifth bishop of the church of Doruvernus, *i.e.*, Augustine, Laurentius, Melitus, Justus, and Honorius. Paulinus ordained Honorius in Lincoln. And he [the latter] went to Rome, and Honorius, the pope, gave him the pall. The pope determined that whatever time the bishop of Doruvernus should die the bishop of York should ordain some one in his place, and the other man besides (?), so that he would not be wearied by the long stretch of the world to Rome. Honorius more.

over sent a letter to the Gaels concerning celebrating Easter, *i.e.*, to the monks of Iona, *viz.*, Baethanus, Cromanus, Columbanus, Laistrianus and Scellanus.

35. Then Edwin fell by Eadball, king of the Britons, and before Penda, rex Merciorum, *i.e.*, king of Chester(?).

36. Anno dominicæ incarnationis .dcccxxiii. After him a great slaughter [was made] among the North Saxons. Paulinus bore Ethelberg out of that storm in a ship to Kent, and he was honorably received by Eadball and by Honorius, the bishop, and they gave many vessels of gold and of silver for the service of God's altar, a cross of gold, and . . . of Edwin, and the chalice. They are now in Kent. At that time Romanus, proconsul of the church of Rochester, was drowned in the Italian sea. In that church Paulinus bestowed the pall he received from Honorius. James accordingly, a deacon of Paulinus's, a churchman and a holy man, an instructor of singing in York a long time.

## NOTES

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- §1. 1. *h-úasal-sacart*, lit., "noble priest." Does it mean anything more than "sanctus presbyter?" Cf. *úasal-epsco*p, "archbishop," §23, and *úasal-athair*, "patriarch," Wind. *Wtb*.
2. *fuair*. For a detailed explanation of the etymology of this verb, together with its corresponding passive form *frith*, see Strachan, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1891-94, 292.
3. *in t-ab*. The nom. form seems to have usurped the place of the acc. *abbaid*.

4. *in fer ro-h-orcthe trisna h-uile disciplu* is, as Meyer points out in *Zeit. f. Celt. Phil.*, ii, 321, a misreading of "per omnia doctissimus." *ro-* has here a superlative force.
  5. *rognáthe*. The prefix of the imperfect should be *do-*.
  6. *ana fúair*, "what he got." Old Ir. *i n-* "wherein" and *a n-* "all that" fell together during the Mid. Ir. period, producing *ina n-*, which interchanged with *ana n-*. See Pedersen, *Zeit. f. Celt. Phil.*, ii, 381. Cf. *a n-apraidh-se*, §30.
  7. Albinus explained to Bede, etc. The scribe has not properly rendered the original. Nothelm conveyed the messages and conversations from Albinus to Bede.
  8. *epistil ó Griguir nach*. Here something is left out.
  9. *Béid nóibh*, "the holy Bede." See *nóeb-Martain*, §23, where *nóeb* is used as a prefix meaning "Saint," after the fashion of Latin.
- §2. 1. *Iris immorro intinscanta*, etc. The sentence is so incomplete that the syntax is unintelligible. Cf. Bede, "Qualiter uero per ministerium Ceddi et Ceadda religiosorum Christi sacerdotum, uel prouincia Merciorum ad fidem Christi, . . . peruenit," etc.
2. *rafoglaim*, "he learned." Cf. with *rofogluind*, §1; the present form may be a slip for *rafoglaínd*, or may be the later denominative form. The *a* of *ra-* comes from *ro-a-*, the infixed pronoun of the 3rd sg. masc., serving as anticipatory acc. to the clause that follows.
  3. *sochaide*. The copula *is* is omitted, a recurring construction with our scribe.
- §3. 1. *Britania* (*Brittania* in Bede), is the name given by the Romans to the land conquered by the people whom they first called *Britanni*. After they had conquered a part of Britain, the Romans fell into the habit of using the kindred form *Brúttōnes*, which is in accord with the pronunciation of the name on the part of the Brythonic

Celts, as is evidenced by the forms Welsh *Brython*, "a Welshman or Briton," *Brythoneg*, "the Brythonic language," *Brethonec*, "the Brythonic language, Cornish," etc. But the Old Irish word for both the people and the land was the plural *Bretain*, which equates with *Brittani*. Hence the Romans must have learned the first name from a Goidelic people in Gaul. The Welsh *Prydain* goes back to \**Pretanis* or \**Pritanis*, which, in the language of the P-Celts, corresponds to \**Qrtanis*. For an illuminating discussion of these names see Rhys, *Phil. Soc. Trans.* iii, vol. 1891-94, 114-117; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Rev. Celt.*, xiii, 398 ff.

§3. 2. *fo h-ocht cethrachat*. It is necessary to insert *cét*, "hundred," between *ocht* and *cethrachat* in order to bring the number up to 48 hundreds, which plus the seventy-five makes the required number 4875.

3. *cúic bér lai*, "five languages." Older form of *bér lai* is *bélra*. According to *Senchus Mor*, iii, 88, 1, the four chief languages (*primber lai*) are Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and Goidelic; *bér lai bái* (*Sen. Mor*, i, 16, 18), "the bright language," is a descriptive term for Christianity; and *bér lai féne*, "Fenian language," is the name of the language in which the most ancient laws were written (*Sen. Mor*, ii, 32). *Bearla* to-day, in Mod. Ir., always means the English language.

*bér lai Cruithnech*, "the Pictish tongue," a people whose name and origin are an eternal exercise to the mind. In descent the name *Cruithnech* harks back to \**Qrtanicos* (see under *Britania*). Rhys derives the name from *cruth*, "form," in Welsh *pryd*; Stokes refers the Irish word *cruithnecht* "wheat," to the root \**qrt*. Stokes, *Ur-Kelt. Sprach.*; MacBain, *Gaelic Dict.*, and the references under *Britania*.

*Góedelg*, the language, and *Góedel*, *Góidel*, of the people. The Welsh form is *Gwyddel*, the

ur-Celt. form *Gaidelo-s* from a root *ghádh*, Eng., "good?" Stokes postulates *Goidelos*, *Geidelos*, which Bezzenberger compares to Gaul. *Geidumni*, and Stokes to Lat. *hoedus*. See Stokes, *Ur-Kelt. Sprach.*, 1894.

Bede employs the Latin names *Anglorum*, *Brettonum*, *Scottorum*, *Pictorum*, *Latinorum*.

- §4. 1. *co farcaib Labienus*. *Co* the conj. "until," "so that," is beginning to be reduced to mere sequence.
- §5. 1. *iar n-Iúil*, "after Julius." The reckoning of the emperors should be according to Augustus, as in Bede.
- §6. 1. *Cair Abroic*, "York," Latin *Eburacum*. In *Annals Four Masters* (A.D. 938) it occurs as *Cairabroc*; in our text it sometimes is written merely *Cair*. The full Cymric designation for York was *Caer Afrawc*. The Irish *cathir*, "city," corresponds to both *cader* and *caer*; hence Latin *castra* appeared in Welsh at times as *\*catera* and at times as *\*casera*.
- §7. 1. *Ba sein rogabh in ríge*. *Sein* may be a corruption, as Dr. Bergin suggested, of *e-sein*, i.e., *e-seom* the 3d pers. pron. plus emphasizing pron. Or it may be a form of *sin*, demon. pron. "that." See Glossarial Index under *sain*.
- §8. 1. *conidromarb*, "until A. killed him." For *co-n-did-ro-marb*.
- §9. 1. *Cathrach Legionum*, i.e., the "City of Legions," viz., Caerleon-on-Usk; the name was also applied to Chester.
- §12. 1. *MacTheothois*, "Theodosius." In accordance with Irish linguistic laws, the final *-ius*, *us*, of Latin names are dropped. The second *th* shows that at this period aspirated *t* was not regarded as silent. Note the following Norse and Old E. names from the *Annals*: *Amlaidhi*, *TF* 222, Icel. *Amloði*; *Barith*, *TF* 873, *AU* 880, *FM* 878, *Barid*, *AU* 913; Icel. *Bárðr*; *Adulstan*, *AU* 936, O. E., *Æthelstan*; *Adulph*, *AU* 857, O. E.

*Æthelwulf; Eanfrith, Tig.*, 600, O. E., *Eanfrith*, etc. See Stokes, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1888-90, 418 ff. The rhymes in the *Felire Oengusa* are also indicative: Aug. 7, *fethis: Effis*; Dec. 9, *chlithi: Láff*. Here *th* as in *thing*.

2. *Pilagus Brit do gabail ersi*. The use of the verbal noun *do gabail* for the pret. *rogab* is a construction unfamiliar to me. So also in §24, *Grigoir do h-epiltin* for *Grigoir atbath*. Perhaps it is a locution employed in indirect discourse.
- §13. 1. *Cethri bliadna .xl.* Instead of "forty-four years" one should read "the forty-fourth king from Augustus."
2. *resin de-bliadan toglá Roma* as it stands is not clear. The sense is "two years before the taking of Rome."
  3. *in choro* for *in chóru*, an adverbial locution formed from the compar. of *cóir*, "proper," with the dat. of the article. Hence "more properly," "rather." See *choru him*, §19, "more properly with me," "in my opinion"?
- §14. 1. *Dochuas*, "it was gone," i.e., "one went," 3rd sg. perf. pret., to *tiagu*. The impersonal use of the passive is rare in Old Ir.
2. *Rofáitíe*, 3rd pl. perf. pret. pass., "were sent," of *fóidim*? If *na* can be taken as the acc. pl. of the article (as in Old Ir.), then the verb must be regarded as 3rd pl. pret. Cf. *rofaidí*, 3rd sg. s-pret., *Salt. na Rann*, 2600.
  3. The measurements are wrongly given: Bede, eight feet wide and twelve feet high.
  4. *amal na tístais dorts*, "as though they would not come again." The negative which in Old Ir. should follow *amal*, when used in the sense of "as though," is *ní*. After a negative simple verbs omit the particle *no-* of the secondary tenses (Strachan).
  5. *amal chono alta fo chairib*, lit., "like wolves upon sheep. *Chairib* should be *chairchib*.

- §15. 1. *dochum n-Érenn*. According to Rhys and Windisch, from \**Iveriū*, older \**Piuērū*-, -ō, from *piveriā*. D'Arbois de Jubainville: *Iuērīnos*, nom. \**Iuērēzū*, acc. *Iuērinnen*, Old Ir. *Ériu*, dat. *Érin*, acc. *Érinn* from \**Iverinnen*; Mid Ir., nom. and acc. *Éri* (hence *Ire* of Ireland). Welsh *Iwerddun* (*dd* for *j*). Latinized forms: *Hiberni*, *Hibernia*. See Holder, *Alt-Celt. Sprach.*, under \**Iveriū*.
2. *Coetium*. The name of the consul was Aetius.
3. *na n-Umuneta*, gen. pl., "of the Huns"; Bede, *Hunorum*. This form of the name I have not seen elsewhere.
- §17. 1. *assaide*, "the easier of it." Formed from *assu*, the compar. of *asse*, *assa*, "easy," and prep. pron. *de*, "of it." Cf. *essaiti*, Wind. *Táin*. A less possible interpretation is to regard it as being made up of *a*, prep. "from," and the anaphoric pron. *suide*, "this"; hence "from this," Cf. *lassuide*, "by this," *Wb.* 31b8. For the gemination of *s* after an uninflected word see Thurn. *Handb.*, p. 150.
2. *pldg tedma*, lit., "a plague of a pestilence."
3. *Uertigern*, Bede, *Urtigernus*, the correct form (Rhys). The word means "supreme lord," and comes from \**Uuor-legerno-s*. In Welsh it became *Gwrtheyrn* (*Gwrthegern*), and in Middle Irish *Fortchern*, *Foirtchern*. According to Nennius, he gave his name to a district in Radnorshire, *Gwarthrynton*. See *Rev. Celt.*, xxiii, 220; xxix, 301. Florence of Worcester, *Wyrtegeorni*.
4. Perhaps *lan menmnach* and *a tuath*.
- §18. 1. *cloidem*, older *claideb*, modern *claidheamh*. In the historical tales of *LU* and *LL* the preference is for *claideb*, cf. Wind. *Wtb.* and *Táin*, Meyer, *Contr.*; in the *Pass. Hom.* of *LB* for *cloidem*. Cf. *Atk.* I have no data for determining when asp. *m* came to stand for *v*-sound of asp. *b* final. Cf. *na nóem*, §23, for similar instance of *m* for asp. *b*.



2. *ddine* for *ddini*, acc. pl. of *duine*. The relation of the two radical syllables is not clear. Strachan proposes an original collective feminine \**doiniq* or the like, meaning "mankind," which took the place of the plural of *duine*. Cf. *Rev. Celt.*, xx, 198. Brugmann traces *ddini* back to an *ur-dheunio*. In explaining why *duine* does not appear in the plural and *ddini* not in the singular, he postulates that originally *duine* denoted man collectively, and that a plural form was called into being only after the signification of an individual was reached. If *duine* at first meant only the mass, then naturally its plural originally referred to the mass. *Doini*, then, was the necessary complement when individuals were meant, and remained so even after *duine* itself had shrunk to the individual. See *Zeit. f. celt. Phil.*, iii, 595 ff.
- §19. 1. In the genealogy of Hengist and Horsa, the scribe inserts two ancestors not mentioned by Bede, *Guicthe meic Guecta*. These seem to be mere variations of *Uicta meic Uechta*. The citation of *Frelub* as the ancestor of *Woden* should be compared with the *A. S. Chronicle*, 449 Laud, 547 Parker. On an epitaph of *Vetta f(i)liusVicti*, see *Arch. Cambr.*, July 1890, p. 234.
2. *trí rath 7 mirbuilib*. The latter word is an instance of an acc. pl. going over into the dat. after a preposition,—the reverse of the usual proce, dure in Mid. Ir.
3. *rotheitset* for *rotheichset*, from *techim* "I flee."
- §19. 4. *nocho dérig Dia*. In Old Ir. the negative used in independent clauses is *nícon*, which aspirates. See also *noco chumcaim-se*, §22. The verb used here is 3rd sg. pres., enclitic of *do-érig*, from *di-ess-rég-*, "he deserts," whereas one would expect the perf. pret. *doréacht*.
5. *rofuidestar*. Along with the deponent form is used also the active *rofdid*.
- §20. 1. *Auric*, a mistake for *Mauric*, i. e., *Mauricius*, the emperor.

2. *do phroicept*, vb. noun of *pridchim*, "I preach," from Latin *præceptum*. For the shortening of the vowel in *pridchim* from Latin *prædico*, cf. the loans *ceist*, Lat. *quæstio*; *demon*, Lat. *dæmon*.
- §21. 1. *muinter*, "people," "household." Mid. Ir. texts present the word under a great variety of spellings. It is usually regarded as an early loan from Lat. *monasterium*, passing through the forms *monater-* and *moniter-*. See Thurn. *Handb.*, p. 517. But D'Arbois de Jubainville connects it with Lat. *manu-tera-*, "he who is under the hand," i. e., 'under the authority of.' See *Rev. Celt.*, xxv, 2.
- §22. 1. *ronsfáideg* (a mistake for *ro-n-fáided*), "we have been sent." With passive forms of the verb infixed pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons serve as the subject of the verb.
2. *chretit*. The aspiration indicates that the verb is relative; but the specific relative form of the verb not employed in this text.
3. *Táinic clú na Crístáide a sétig*. One would expect *assa sétig*, "the fame of the Christians came from his wife."
4. *do-s-fuc* for *ro-s-fuc*.
5. *Ro-*, prefixed to cpd. verbs is found only a couple of times in enclitic forms in the *Old Ir. Glosses*. Later it became more common. Strachan, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1895-98, 137.
6. *Epescop*, from Lat. *episcopus*. The word, like *apstal* from Lat. *apostolus*, shows in the syncope the effect of the strong stress accent of Old Ir.
- §23. 1. *Lotar isin cathraig*. Instead of the narrative pret. *lotar*, should not the perf. pret. *docuatar* be used here?
2. *ó h-irnaighthib grésachaib*. As a rule, the dat. pl. of adjectives is uninflected in this text, with the exception of those which end in a guttural *-ch*. One may infer that this guttural sound had a certain preservative tendency. The loss of

the inflectional ending of this case had its starting-point in Old Ir. See Vendryes, *Gramm.*, p. 111; Thurn. *Handb.*, p. 280.

3. *cumachtaí cumdaig*, lit., "power of building."
  4. *rodochumdaigset*, 3rd pl. s-pret. of *cumdaigim*, "I found," with *-do-* (for *-da-*) infixes fem. pron. The verb has gone over from the deponent inflection to the active. The verb is a formation from *cumdach*, vb. noun of *conutuinc*, "he builds." *Ro-*, prefixed to cpd. verbs is found only a couple of times in enclitic forms in the *Old Ir. Glosses*. Later it became more common. Strachan, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1895-98, 137.
  5. *dia thig*, "to his house." With this Mid. Ir. form cf. the Old Ir. form *dia taig*, "to their house," §14.
  6. *ní chumaic in chumrí conorragba* in Old Ir. would appear as *ní cumaing in chuimré condaragba*. The second verb resolves itself into *con-da-ro-gaba* from *con-gaibim*, the 3rd sg. pres. subj. with *-da-* infixes pron. 3rd pl., and *-ro-* of possibility.
  7. *ar nacharagbad diumus*, "that pride should not seize him." The full form of the verb is *nach-a-ro-gabad*, 3rd sg. pret. subj., with infixes pron. *a*, "him," after *nach* and *-ro-* of purpose.
- §24. 1. *con-acca*, for older *con-accae*, "he saw." The form is a *ro-less* pret.; the narrative tense is indicated by prefixing *co n-* when no other conjunct particle precedes. Thurn. *Handb.*, p. 324. A construction more in accord with good Old Ir. usage would be: *lāa n-ben dia luid . . . atchond-airc . . .* Cf. *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1899-1902, 419.
2. *corcra*, "crimson"; *corcur*, from Lat. *purpura*. For *c* representing I. E. *p*. and *qu* in loan-words; cf. Ir. *clum*, *caille*, *cland*, *casc* and Lat. *pluma*, *pallium*, *planta*, *pascha*.
  3. *letheid ind lochta so for seilb diabail*, lit., "the like of this people in the possession of the devil."

4. *cóir a rochtain*, lit., "it is right their attaining."
  5. *co dían*, "speedily." Old Ir. seldom prefixes *co* to adjectives to form adverbs.
  6. *mad cóir . . . bam erlam re dul and. Bam*, 1st sg. fut. of subst. verb, is used after *mad* because the hypothesis relates to the future. The form does not occur, as far as I am aware, in the *Old Ir. Glosses*; it is found, however, in the *Salt. na Rann*.
  7. *na bud cend dóib Augustín*, lit., "that A. should not be a head to them." *Bud*, 3rd sg. sec. subj. after *na*, does not appear in the *Glosses*, nor in the *Salt. na Rann*. *Bud* started from *bu* of the pret.
- §25. 1. *ní térna díb acht l. ccc. septies*, etc. The meaning is much obscured here through condensation of the original. The sense in full is, that of the twelve hundred monks who came out to pray, only fifty escaped. The three hundred sevens has nothing to do with the battle, but is an allusion to the system in use at Bangor of dividing the monks into seven parts with three hundred in each part.
- §26. 1. *Millitum do h-ordned*, "Mellitus to be ordained," i. e., was ordained. Another instance of the infinitive for the pret.
2. *Trí míle a Doruuerui albath Augustín*. Bede says nothing about Augustine's dying three miles from Rochester; he only mentions that Rochester is twenty-four miles from Canterbury.
- §27. 1. *fichi*, another scribal error. It should read *cét bliadain fichetmad*, "the twenty-first year."
- §28. 1. *romarb Saperict*, rather *albath S.*, "S. died."
- §29. 1. *Dochoid Lurint 7 Iustus*. Not so; read *Mellitus* for *Lurint*.
2. *rosraigled*, 3rd sg. pass. s-pret. of *sraiglim*, a denom. of *sraigell*, "scourge." For the change in loan-words of Lat. *f* to *s*, cf. *furnus*, *fibula*, *frenum*, *fúinis*, *flagellum*, etc., which have become in Irish *sorn*, *sibul*, *srian*, *suanem*, *sraigell*. See *Vend.*,

*Hib. Voc.* But Stokes questions if in some of the Irish words the *s* may not represent Old Celt. *th*, Gr., I. E. *dh*. Stokes, *Goidelica*.

3. *Paulín*. For the identification of Paulinus with Runmap Urbgen, of the *Historia Britonum* (Nennius), see E. W. B. Nicholson, *Zeit. f. celt. Phil.* iii, 108.
  4. *Celtiberga* for *Aedilberga* of Bede.
  5. *tíbred* for older *tíberad*. 3rd sg. sec. red. fut., enclitic, of *do-biur*, "I give." This syncopated form appears also in *Salt. na Rann*.
  6. *dernat*. Instead of the pres. subj. after *albert*, "said," in historical narrative, one would expect the sec. subj.
  7. *día coemos corbam inraice de*, lit., "if I am able that I can be worthy of it." *Co-r-bam* goes back to *con-ro-bam*, of which the *bam* comes from *ba*. The *ro-* expresses possibility.
  8. *Rofailsiged do Phaulín trí fairsine*. The vision that was shown to Paulinus repeated former experiences of the king.
  9. *mina marba Éduni*, "if you do not kill Edwin." *Mani* is the older form for *mina*; the latter does not, to my knowledge, occur in *Salt. na Rann*.
  10. *Rodlúthus mo síth 7 in rí*, lit., "I have united my peace, and the king."
- §30. 1. *mh'forcetul*, "my teaching." *Mh* stands for *mo*, "my," which aspirates the following word. To avoid hiatus of the two vowels, which results upon the silencing of *f* when aspirated, the first vowel is elided. But why is the initial *m* aspirated?
2. *biat*, 2nd sg. fut. of copula. In the *Salt. na Rann* (855), there is found a 1st sg. *biam*. Strachan suggests that Old Ir. may have had a form *bia*, which it used absolutely, and a *ba*, which it used after particles (*Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1899-1902, p. 80). If so, then *biam*, *biat* may have been influenced by *am*, *at*, of the pres. ind. of the copula.
  3. *Dianomsotra*, "if you free me." The form is made up of *día*, "if," *-no-*, particle used to prefix pro-

nouns, *-m-* inf. pron. of the 1st sg., and *soéra*, 2nd sg. subj.

4. *a n-apraidh-se*, "what ye say" (?). The form looks like the 2nd pl. subj., enclitic, of *asbiur*, "I say." Cf. *apraid*, Atk. One would expect here the 2nd sg. subj.
- §32. 1. *dor . . . and*. Perhaps *dorochair in rí and*, "and the king fell there."
- §33. 1. *Dorochair 7 se crithnagthe*, "he fell and he trembling," a much-used idiom in Irish. The verb is 3rd sg. unredup. pret. of *dotuit*. In place of the pass. ptc. *crithnagthe*, we should have the active *crithnagud*.
- §34. 1. *atbalad*, probably an error for *atbélad*, 3rd sg. sec. redup. fut. of *atbail*, "he dies."
2. *in fer aile masech*?
3. *Ia*, "Iona"; Bede, *Hii*. the usual Lat. form, with such variations as *Eo*, *Hu*, *Hya*, *Hi*, *I*, and the adjective forms *Ioua*, *Euea*, *Hiiensis*, *Ionensis*. The name which has stuck, *Iona*, no doubt was evolved from a misreading of the adj. *Ioua*. Probably, too, the citation of *Iona* as a Hebrew word meaning (1) dove, (2) the proper name Jonah, as variants of *Columba*, contributed to fixing the incorrect form *Iona* as the name of the island. See Fowler, *Vita Sancti Columbae*, pp. lxxv and 3.
4. Bede names several more abbots besides those mentioned by our scribe. The Brussels MS. containing lives of Irish saints treats of, among others, *Baithenus*, *abbas Hiensis* (June 9). Plummer suggests he may have been Baeithin of Bangor, who died 665. Cf. *Rev. Celt.*, xi, 374. I have just received an announcement setting forth the intention of the Royal Irish Academy to supply complete sets in permanent platinotype of their reproductions of MSS. 3409B and 3410, in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, to those desirous of purchasing this valuable collection of the lives of Irish Saints.

§35. 1. *ri castra?*

§36. 1. *Anno dominicæ*, etc. According to Todd, MS. *Laud 610* contains on folio 81b an account of the great plague 633 AD., which begins thus: *Anno dominicæ dc. xxxiii. Ara mora h-i Saxain tuaiscert ond anbthine rucad Paulinus Edilberta illuing co Cantia agus rohairimed co h-onorach. This coincides almost literally with the account in our text.*

2. *Étune*. The governing nom. not apparent.

3. *Iacob*. Concerning this name see E. W. B. Nicholson (*Zeit. f. cell. Phil.*, iii, 109): "The name of Paulinus's deacon, Iacobus, is suspiciously British. I doubt if Iacobus was a common name in West Europe at the beginning of the 7th century. As an Anglo-Saxon name Iacob seems to be absolutely unknown. But as a Welsh name (starting before the 7th century and passing through Iacob, Iacou, Iaco, into Iago) it was quite common."

4. The last sentence is left incomplete.

## GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

(The bare numbers refer to the sections of the text.)

A for i, prep. with acc. *to*, 5.

A N- *what*; only as subject or object of a verb, 1, 30.

ABBAIG *beavers*, nom. pl. of *abacc*, 14. Meyer, *Contr.*

AFRIUND h-ic *afriund*, *offering* [*mass*], 22. Lat. *offerenda*.

ÁID *notice*, dia n-aid, dat. sg., 15; usually in conjunction with *do-biur*.

AIDCHI F. *night*, nom. sg. 29. The dat. has taken place of nom. *adaig*.

ÁINE F. *fasting*, dat. sg., 24; *ainib*, dat. pl., 23. \**iðnium*, a Low Lat. form of *jejunium*.

AIRCHINNECH M. *citizen*, nom. pl. (form seems nom. sg.), 9; Meyer, *Contr.*

AITTE *aedificium*, acc. sg., 23.

ARSATA adj. *ancient*; na n-arsata, subst. gen. pl., 1; na n-arsatha, 2.

ASSAIDE the *easier* of it, 17.

ATHÁRCUD (for at(t)árcud) '*relatio*', 2. Sg. 197b4, 200b8, *Rev. Celt*, iii, 327.

ATRACTH *arose*, 3rd sg. t-pret. of atomriug, 33. From ess-reg-, raise; when pronoun infix, ess-becomes ad-. Strachan, *Tales from the Táin*.

BOISS palm (of hand), acc. sg. of boss, 30.

BRAIT F. *plundering*, acc. sg. of brat, 13.

BRÁTHARDO adv. *brotherly*, co b. 23. The adjective formation from bráth(a)ir should be bráthard(a)e; in Mid. Ir. ending -ae becomes -a.

BRÁTHRIS M. *brotherhood*, nom. sg. 24. a .m-bráthris, brotherhood with them.

BUIDECHUS *thanks*, dia b., thanking him, lit. to his thanks, 23.

CAILECH M. *chalice*, acc. sg., 36. From Lat. calicem.

CANFAID they will sing, 3rd pl. f-fut. to canim, 24.

CHANTAIRECHTA gen. sg. of cantairecht, *singing*, 36.

CARAT-BEN F. *concubine*, nom. sg., 9. carat, gen. sg. of cara friend.

CENA particle of affirmation, usually aspirated, 15. The aspirated form became fixed in late Old Ir.

CENÉL N. *race*. cinela (i for e), nom. pl. 19; da chinél, da chenel, dual nom., 19; cinel, nom. sg., 19; ceniúil, gen. sg., 1; in cheiniúil, gen. sg., 24; cheniul (for -iuil), gen. sg., 30; do cheníul, dat. sg., 22.

CETHRACHAD *fortieth*, nom. sg., 11. Old Ir. cethorcatmad.

CIPÉ (CI-P É) *whatever be*, 3rd sg. pres. subj. of copula is, 34.

CHLÁRAIGH dat. sg. of clárach, *boarded*, 33. Meyer, *Contr.*

CON-ICC, -CUM-AING is *able*; coemos, 1st sg. s-subj. enclitic, 29; coemsa, 3rd pl., s-subj., enclitic.

COMACRAIBHIBH (com-fochraibh), dat. pl. of comfhocair, *neighboring*, 1; chomfochraibe, dual nom., 14.

CONÉRRACHTATAR see ATRACTH; 3rd pl. t-pret.

CONORRAGBA 3rd sg. a-subj. of con-gaibim, *I hold, admit*, 23.



**CROCH** F. *cross*, nom. sg., 23. W. *crog*, Lat. *crucem* (the original vowel seen in gen. sg. *cruchae*).

**CUIMGIB** dat. pl. of *cuiisce* *distress*, 30.

**CHUMBÍ** (CHUM-RÍ) *brevity*, 23.

**DEG-SCÉL** N. *good-tidings*, acc. sg., 22. Cf. O. E. *god-spel*.

**DEOCHON** M. *deacon*, nom. sg., 36. Lat. *diaconus*, W. *diacon*.

**DIAMLAIGTHE** past ptc. of *diam-laigim* (*di-samlaigim*), *I pretend*, 29.

**DONAFÍB** (older *donaibhí*), *to those*; prep. demon. pron., 22.

**DORISSE** adv. *again*, 14; *doris*, 14. A shortened form of *doridisse*; cf *afrithisse*, older *ar-f.*; *frithissi* is acc. or dat. of a fem. noun *fritheisse*, *esse* meaning *trace*, *vestige*; *ar-* poss. pron. 1st pl.; *do-* poss. pron. 2nd sg.

**DULIG** adj. *difficult*, nom. sg., 29.

**EALATHAN** F. gen. sg. of *elatha*, *composition*, 1.

**ECLASTACDA** fer ecl. *a churchman*, 36.

**ECHLANTA** (ECLANTA?) Mid. Ir. past ptc. of *as-gleinn*, *he selects*, 1.

**ENGNA** (for *engnama?*) gen. sg. of *engnam*, *prohess*, 14. Wind. *Táin*; Stokes, *Acc. na Sen*.

**EPILTIN** do h-e, dat. sg. of *epeltu*, verbal abstract of *atbail*, *he dies*, 24. Syntax peculiar, an inf. used for pret.

**ERCHONSAL** Lat. *proconsul*, 36. Cf. Erpoint for Lat. *Pro-pontis*, Stokes, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1891, p. 56.

**FLEDOGUGUD** (usual form *fledugud*), inf. to a denom. verb *fledigim*(?), from *fled* *feast* (W. *gwledd*), 17.

**FOITHIB** *on them*, 14; prep. *fo* + suff. pron. 3rd pl.

[F]RITHAIRIB F. dat. pl. to *frith-aire*, *vigil*, 23.

**FUILE** rel. form of *atá*, subst. verb *is*, 30. Usual Old Ir. form *fil*, *feil*; the form with the broad vowel is later.

**FUNEDCHA** nom. pl. of *funedach*, *western*, 19; *funedach*, gen. pl. 33. A derivative of *fuined*, *setting* (*of the sun*). Strachan, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1891-94, p. 294.

**FUNETTA** adj. *western*, gen. pl., 1; *funeta*, gen. pl., 69. See preceding word.

GEIN N. *birth* ria n-gein, dat. sg., 4. Verbal abstract to gainithir, *is born*.

GEIN M. *mouth, edge*, fo g. cloidem, acc. sg. of gin; but here as if gein were nom.

GELL N. *pledge, hostage*: giullu, acc. pl. with u-infection preserved, 4.

GENTLIDE adj. *heathen*, accl pl. masc., 28. Lat. gentilis.

GENTLIUCHTA gen. sg. of gentliucht F, *heathendom*, 29. See preceding word.

ÍDAL M. gen. pl. of ídal, *idol*, 23. Lat. idōlum.

IMCHOMARCA acc. pl. of im-chomarc, verbal noun to im-chomarcim, *I ask*; hence, *questions*.

IND-AISLINGI F. acc. sg. of aislinge, *vision*, 29.

INDATT *are they*, 24. Ind. interrog. particle, + 3rd pl. pres., dependent form of copula. In Old Ir. form frequently nasalised following word. Thurn. *Handb.*, p. 277.

ISAT *they are*, 3rd pl. pres. of isam, 22. Wind. *Táin*.

ITAT 3rd pl. pres. of itau, *ito*, *I find my self*, *I am*, 36. Wind. *Táin*, *ito-sa*.

LÁA N. (Old Ir. láe, láa, longer, láithe) *day*; lai, gen. sg. 22; i l-ló, dat. sg. 23; láa n-óen, nominative phrase (note nasalising), 23; innaræle ló, dat. sg. 33.

LEITH i l-leith, *in behalf of, with respect to*, dat. sg. of leth, *side*, 2.

LETHEID F. acc. sg. of lethet, *kind* (Mod. Ir., the like of), 24.

LONGIS resind l. *before the fleet*, dat. sg., 19. Form looks like acc., the usual dat. form being longais. Word ordinarily means a voluntary exiling voyage, in contrast to imm-ram, an ordinary voyage. Loingsech, a proper name "exile," *Orgain Dind Rig*, Stokes, *Zeit. f. celt. Phil.*, iii, p. 4. Wind. *Wib*.

LUCC M. dat. sg., *a place*, 24. Loan from Lat. locus: o goes into u when following syllable has u-color. Thurn. *Handb.*, pp. 81, 522.

MANACH M. *monk*, acc. sg., 23; manchaib, dat. pl., 25. Loan from Lat. monachus; the change from o to a perhaps due to W. manach. Stokes, *Lives of Saints*, p. lxxxvi.

MANCHAIÑE *a monk*, nom. sg., 13. Usually means *service* (mainchine, manchuine). See *Eriu*, i, 207, = a tenant of church lands.

MANISTRECH gen. pl. of manister, 2. From Low Lat. monastirium *monastery*.

MÍLEDU acc. pl. of míl *M. soldier*, 33. From Lat. miles, -itis; declension imitates Lat., míl, míled.

NEM-ÉLNIDE adj. *uncorrupted* acc. sg. 22. Nem- (Old Ir. neb), neg. prefix.

NESSU comp. of accus, oculus, *near*, 17

ÓCBAD coll. *youth*, acc. sg. 14. Óc, óg (O. I. óac), young.

ÓENTADACHAIB dona h-ó, *to their unifying*, dat. pl. (subst.) of óentadach, harmonious, unified.

ÓENUR at óenur *by yourself* (lit. in your oneness), 30.

OL *said*, 24. Isolated form, later ar, which also occurs in this text; used both for sg. and pl. Thurn. *Handb.*, p. 509.

RAINN *F. part*, nom. sg., 2; *raind, a part*, 2. Nom. usually rann; here dat. seems to have taken its place. A rainn has become a nominal prep., meaning *as for*. Thurn. *Handb.*, p. 487.

RÉ *F. time*; ré x. bliadan adv. locution of time, 8; tria réa acc. sg., 3.

ROASSAR 3rd sg. dep. pret. with reduplication of asaim, *I grow*, 17; ro-h-assair, dep. pret. in -ai, 17.

ROCHOMÓENTADAIGSET 3rd pl. s-pret. of comóentadaigim, *I unite with*, 18; a denom. verb from óentadach.

ROCUMSCAIDED (-ged), 3rd sg. s-pret. pass. of cumscraigim, *I move*, 31. Enclitic form of con-od-scag-, *Rev. Celt.* vi, 139.

RODERBOR-SA 1st sg. pres. conjunct. of derbaim, *I test, prove*, 22. Ro- prefixed to express possibility.

RO-H-AIRFITED 3rd sg. s-pret. pass. of airfitim, *I delight, hence attract*, 23.

RO-H-EDHPRADH (id-), 3rd sg. s-pret. pass. idpraim, *I offer*, 29.

RO-H-ORCTHE (for -fhoretthe), past ptc. of for-canim, *I teach*, I. Old Ir. foirethe. Ro- intensive prefix.

**ROINRÆTAR** 3rd pl. pret. redupl. of inrethim, *I plunder*, 18.  
Form should be inrætatar (ind- rethatar).

**RORECCAIR** (-frecair), 3rd sg. s-pret. of frith-garim, *I answer*, 22. Frith-g- under the accent becomes frec-. Here f- aspirated after ro- and lost.

**ROSCÍTHAIGTHER** 3rd sg. pres. subj. pass. of scithaigim, *I weary*, 34. Denom. verb from scith weary.

**ROTHARMINIUD** (for rotharminuig), 3rd sg. s-pret. of tairminigim(?), *I explain*, 7.

**ROTHORROMAD** 3rd sg. pret. a-subj. of toromaim, *I visit*, 29.

**SA** for so, demon. pron., *this*, 1; se, 9; seo, 30.

**SAIGTHIGIDIB** cona s., *with his successors*, (?), 23. Dr. Bergin suggests with a query that it is "nomen agentis" to saigim. 'adeo'. Cf. saigthetu 'aditus'. Meyer. *Frag. of Old Ir. Treatise on the Psalter*.

**SAIN** for sin, demon. pron., *that*, 14; sein(?), 7, 19; co sein (cosin), 20.

**SAIRSE** *work* dat. sg. 1. 2 opus, Ascoli 222. Cf. *Sg.* 92b 6.

**SID?** Saxano na sid, 17; gen. of side, 'blast';? hence, *Saxons of the wind*, referring to their mode of travel (?). Cf. *Salt. na Rann*, Sept. 10.

**SÍTH** M. *peace*, acc. sg., 29; in t-side, gen. sg., 33.

**SOSSUD** M. *seat*, dat. sg. 23; sosad, acc. sg., 33. Perhaps neuter: see *Felire Oengusa*, Feb. 26, Sept. 21, sossad n-.

**SÚI** M. *instructor*, nom. sg., 36. See Strachan, *Rev. Celt.* xxviii, 202.

**TÆTHAISTÍ** 2nd pl. s-fut. of tuitim, *I fall*, 24. Old Ir. -este.

**TAIRBIRT** verbal noun to do-biur, *I receive*, 29. Old Ir. tabart, -irt.

**TARSAT** for tartsat, 3rd pl. perf. pret. enclitic of dobiur, *I give, take*, 15. Proclitic form doratsat.

**TOIRRSECH** co t., *sorrowfully*, 29.

**TUIR** *tower*, nom. pl., 14. Atk. tor. from Lat. turris.

# SOME SCOTTISH INFLUENCES ON EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE

BY ALBERT DAVIS, PH.D.<sup>1</sup>

The taunt of many writers in England in the eighteenth century that Scotland had no literature or literary ancestry is not justified by a consideration of the influences that the neighbor country exerted on English letters. Johnson's well known remarks on Scotland were merely casual comments, not meant to be taken too seriously; yet they but repeated the oft-heard slur on Scotland and all things pertaining to that land.

In the seventeenth century the few Scottish poets were but servile imitators of English authors, most of whom were Londoners. When

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C. S. N.

James I of England went up to London there went with him many poets and men of letters who desired to bask in the favor of the king. Thus was Scotland almost bereft not only of writers but also of literary traditions. With the beginning of the eighteenth century there appeared in Scotland both an English and a Scottish school; the one still bowing to the London dictates of fashion in writing, the other presenting its thought in the vernacular. While thus a feeling of dependence on prescribed English models still existed, there was also growing the revolt against the style of poetry employed by Pope and his school. It was the Scotch who first definitely attempted in verse to present Nature in her wild and less cultivated aspects.

Allan Ramsay's edition of *Scots Songs*, published in 1719, showed that an interest in earlier poetry was reviving. Ramsay's importance, however, is mainly due to his original poems which treat of Nature. They proclaim him to be one of the initiators of the "Nature movement" in poetry. Certain of his eclogues give truthful pictures of contemporary humble life, and also present ludicrous incidents among rustics. Though Crabbe wrote more realistically and with less humor, yet he was really following in the wake of Ramsay, inasmuch as he employed humble life as the theme of *The Village* (1783) and other poems of importance. In

*The Gentle Shepherd* of 1725 Ramsay made no use of the "simpering loveliness" common to the pastoral of the period; instead, he drew a picture of the Scotch peasant in actual and ordinary surroundings. Thus Wordsworth's theory that common things described in common language are proper subject-matter for poetry, had actual trial in this poet of the early part of the century. The language of the speakers in the poem, it is true, is not that of the Scotch peasant; but the subject matter in general and the pictures of Lowland and pastoral scenery are exactly like what was done by the poet of Alfoxden in his presentation of broad scenic impressions. It has often been said that *The Gentle Shepherd* suggested to Gay the idea of his *Beggar's Opera*; here we may have a definite instance of Scottish influence on one of the members of the English Pseudo-Classic group.

Ramsay's original poetry in Scotch dialect goes far to disprove the assertion of Beattie that the language of Scotland was "incapable of use as the vehicle of literary expression." Had it not been for Ramsay's initial movement, Robert Fergusson might not have taken up the same satiric and humorous method and thus kept aglow the torch which he in turn handed to Robert Burns. Both Fergusson and Burns show the influence of the sentimental school of writing which had been started by Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*. In all probability, how-

ever, neither poet was influenced directly by Sterne, but received his inspiration from the much more lachrymose and sentimental production of Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling*, published in 1771. Robert Burns is said to have worn out two copies of this book, and the trend of it is very evident in some of his poems, notably *To a Mouse* and *To a Mountain Daisy*. The Spenserian stanza in *The Cotter's Saturday Night* was taken not directly from *The Faerie Queene* but rather from the poetry of Shenstone; whereas the subject matter is copied from Fergusson's *Farmer's Ingle*.

All three poets popularized the Nature element in their native poetry, and made the peasant a subject for poetic presentation. The characteristics of the Scotch, their customs and traditions, figure in the various work of these three men. Their influence might be spoken of as general, for their tone pervades later British poetry.

A more direct influence was exerted by an almost forgotten poet, Robert Riccaltoun, who lived from 1691 to 1769. Riccaltoun was at first a farmer, but later became a minister at Hobkirk, near which place James Thomson was born. He became interested in the youthful poetry of Thomson, and there is little doubt that the younger man had the privilege of reading an original poem by Riccaltoun which dealt with aspects of winter. Indeed, Thomson



admitted in one of his letters that "Mr. Riccaltoun's poem on Winter first put the design into my head" of writing on such subjects. Yet this poem, which I reprint below, is in reality a rather weak production, giving as it does generalizations instead of definite pictures. Its sense of gloom may possibly be traced to the season of the year with which it deals; its melancholy foreshadows the tone of the graveyard poetry that culminated in *The Grave* by the Scotchman Robert Blair, in *The Complaint or Night Thoughts* of Edward Young, an Englishman, and in a much more poetic and romantic form in Gray's *Elegy*. Thus to this Hobkirk minister, through his interest in Thomson, we are indebted for both the subject matter that later represented the casting off of the Popean yoke, and the beginning of that serious and melancholy poetic strain that dominated for a time the poetry of England and of the Continent.

## A WINTER'S DAY.

WRITTEN BY A SCOTCH CLERGYMAN.

Now, gloomy soul! look out—now comes thy turn;  
With thee, behold all ravag'd nature mourn:  
Hail the dim empire of thy darkling night,  
That spreads, slow-shadowing, o'er the vanquish'd light.

Look out, with joy; the ruler of the day,  
Faint, as thy hopes, emits a glimmering ray:  
Already exil'd to the utmost sky,  
Hither, oblique, he turns his clouded eye.

Lol from the limits of the wintry pole,  
Mountainous clouds, in rude confusion, roll; 10  
In dismal pomp, now, hov'ring on their way,  
To a sick twilight they reduce the day.  
And hark! imprison'd winds, broke loose, arise,  
And roar their haughty triumph through the skies.  
While the driv'n clouds, o'ercharged with floods of rain, 15  
And mingled lightning, burst upon the plain.  
Now see sad *earth*—like thine, her alter'd state,  
Like thee, she mourns her sad reverse of fate!  
Her smiles, her wanton looks—where are they now?  
Faded her face! and wrapp'd in clouds her brow; 20  
No more th'ungrateful verdure of the plain;  
No more the wealth-crown'd labours of the swain;  
These scenes of bliss, no more upbraid my fate,  
Torture my pining thought, and rouse my hate.  
The leaf-clad forest, and the tufted grove, 25  
Ere-while the safe retreats of happy love,  
Stript of their honours naked, now appear;  
This is, my soul! the Winter of their year!  
The little noisy songsters of the wing,  
All, shiv'ring on the bough, forget to sing. 30  
Hail, rev'rend silence, with thy awful brow!  
Be musick's voice forever mute—as now;  
Let no intrusive voice my dead repose  
Disturb — no pleasure disconcert my woes.  
In this moss-cover'd cavern, hopeless laid 35  
On the cold clift I'll lean my aking head,  
And, pleas'd with winter's waste, un pitying see  
All nature in an agony with me!  
Rough rugged rocks, wet marshes, ruin'd towers,  
Bare trees, brown brakes, black heaths, and rushy moors, 40  
Dread floods, huge cataracts, to my pleased eyes  
(Now, I can smile!) in wild disorder rise.  
And now, the various dreadful comb'n'd,  
Black melancholy comes to doze my mind.  
See! night's wish'd shades, spreading through the air, 45  
And the lone, hollow gloom, for me prepare!  
Hail! solitary ruler of the grave!  
Parent of terrors! from thy dreary cave!

Let thy dumb silence *midnight* all the ground,  
And spread a welcome horror all around. 50  
But hark!—a sudden howl invades my ear!  
The phantoms of the dreadful hour are near.  
Shadows, from each dark cavern, now combine  
And stalk around, and mix their yells with mine.  
Stop, flying Time! repose thy restless wing; 55  
Fix here,—nor hasten to restore the Spring.  
Fix'd my ill fate, so fix'd let Winter be,  
Let never wanton season laugh at me!

In *The Seasons*, Thomson brought to the English reader the country life of Scotland presented from direct observation. This topic of the country and its beauties acted like an infusion of new blood into a poetry that through lack of nutrition, was becoming anæmic. The vigor of the Thomsonian subject matter was of great benefit not only to the eighteenth century poets but also to the tone of all subsequent poetry. Thomson's theme and use of blank verse emphasized the revolt against the Popean model of classical accuracy. Fortunately these early poets from Scotland were not writing primarily to receive the praise of their English confreres, and therefore broke away from the stilted and conventional mediums. It has been said that Thomson feared he might fail utterly if he attempted to write in couplets, since Pope had brought that epigrammatic style to such perfection. Whether this be true or not, the fact remains that Thomson began the revival of blank verse after so many years of disuse since Milton's time. His blank verse was not

perfect, nor was it exactly of the Miltonic type; but it was different from the couplet.

In later life Thomson recanted in regard to his method. *The Castle of Indolence* (1733) indicates, it is true, that he was still willing to take risks as to his means of presentation; but in his later poetry he fell under the domination of the Pseudo-Classical school, and thus, like Whitehead, became, instead of a leader of poetic thought, simply a servile imitator. Apparently he preferred to follow the line of least resistance rather than continue to bear the brunt of battle.

David Malloch was another Scotchman who went up to London to try his hand at poetry. His earliest poem, *The Excursion*, includes evident imitations of Thomson. Malloch so far desired to lose his identity as a Scotchman that he Anglicized his name to Mallet. His importance, however, is primarily due to his conscious imitation of the style and matter of his fellow-countryman. The appearance of imitators indicates that the Thomsonian cult had taken root.

Robert Blair carried on the tradition of graveyard poetry which may have been suggested by Riccaltoun's *Winter's Day*. It would seem as if Scotchmen, because of the longer period of gloomy weather which they annually experienced, were more prone to consider the morbid side of life. *The Grave* (1743), as its name

might well imply, is full of melancholy; but it struck a note that was quickly echoed by various poets of other lands. The *Night Piece on Death* (1721) by Thomas Parnell, an Irishman, may have been known to Robert Blair, as he may also have read the *Night Thoughts*; but so far as can be determined by comparison of the poems, *The Grave* seems to be an original production. These poetical pieces of settled melancholy appealed to all sorts of readers. People were in the proper receptive mood; and the romantic gloom which permeated such poetry may be considered as a forerunner of the Romantic movement. The most evident result of this influence is to be found in *An Elegy Wrote in a Country Churchyard* (1751), in which the gloom is combined with a pervading romanticism. The poetry is of a much finer strain than in either Blair or Young; the riming scheme is much more appropriate than the somewhat loosely constructed blank verse of Blair and of Young. This sentimental and romantic presentation of subjects dealing with death is also to be noted in *Thanatopsis*; thus has the influence spread from Scotland to America.

The eighteenth century in general had a great and mighty dread of the sea. In poetry this dread finds expression: the sea was not a popular subject. In 1762, however, was published *The Shipwreck* by William Falconer, a

native of Edinburgh. Because of his poverty he joined a merchant ship; after various experiences on the sea he wrote the poem on which rests his fame. Even Falconer writes of the sea in the stilted couplets of Pope. Although Falconer dreaded the various moods of the ocean, he had an intimate knowledge of his subject; and to true descriptive ability he joined poetical expression. The technicalities that the seaman would know in connection with his ship are presented with such minutiae that the landsman is soon overwhelmed by the terminology. In reality, indeed, it is more with the ship than with the sea that Falconer was concerned. Though the purpose of *The Shipwreck* was didactic, it suggested the possibilities of the sea as a subject. Falconer had the opportunity to study and appreciate his material; it is this appreciation mingled with awe and respect that he introduced into literature. Although a sea-faring folk, the British had lacked good delineations of the treacherous deep; and Falconer's choice of a poetic theme is significant.

A more widespread influence of the sea and of melancholy thoughts was furthered by the work of James Macpherson. In 1760 he published as translations *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* \* \* \* *translated from the Galic or Erse Language*. These Ossianic "poems," transcribed into prose reminiscent of the Bible,

are deeply tinged with melancholy. They deal with the sea, the clouds, and the mists. The interest aroused by the *Fragments* led to the publication of *Fingal* in 1762 and of *Temora* in the following year. There is no doubt that a basis for the poems existed among the Highlanders, though upon the poems as we have them Macpherson put his own form and impress. They were published at a time when enthusiasm for the earlier periods of history had been aroused by *The Castle of Otranto*; they also appealed to the public in "the era of sentiment which had sprung up—sentiment which was domestic in *Clarissa Harlowe*, . . . poetic in Percy's *Reliques*."<sup>2</sup> The effects of the Ossianic poems lived long after Macpherson had been gathered to his fathers. Byron, in his earlier years, fell under the sway of the poetry; Burns acknowledged the fascination that Ossian had for him; and the early work of Coleridge is imbued with the mystery that Macpherson represented.

Abroad, the influence of Ossian was also evident. In Italy, after the translation of the *Fragments*, a new form of poetry sprang up. Germany hailed the poems with joy, and several of the great Romantic writers made attempts to translate the "poem" into German verse. France was not at first thrilled by the

<sup>2</sup> GRAHAM: *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 241.

work of the Scotchman; at length Napoleon, reading it in the Italian translation, was delighted, and is said to have carried a copy of the work with him on his campaigns.

One other man should at least be mentioned because of his direct influence upon a brother Scot. *The Ballad of Cumnor Hall*, by William Julius Meikle, or, as he preferred to spell the name, Mickle, so appealed to Walter Scott as a possible subject for a novel that he at first intended to use the material under the same name as that which Mickle had employed. Instead, he wrote *Kenilworth*. This is an excellent instance of the influence that a poetical piece exerted on the chief romancer of the Scottish nation, in whose mind it was transmuted into another form of literature.

Not in poetry alone was Scotland of great importance in influencing her sister country. Scottish novelists, historians, and philosophers were also imitated in England. In prose, of various kinds, Scottish writers are to be praised for suggestions that were followed out either in their own land or in England. In some cases, to be sure, the Scotch authors expanded ideas they received from England and this expansion in return reacted upon the Southrons. Yet there was a manifold influence purely Scottish.

With the novel we reach a later stage in the interrelation of the literatures of England and Scotland. There seem to be only two kinds of



novels that exerted much influence for good or ill—the sentimental and the sea-faring. In *Tristram Shandy* are the first glimmerings of the sentimentality with which the work of Sterne is always associated. In *A Sentimental Journey* appears the light and frivolous side of “sentiment.” This phase—the so-called sentiment which often deteriorated in later authors into mere lachrymosity—became for a time very popular. The most “tearful” of the productions of this school, *The Man of Feeling*, is full of the over-sentimental element of Sterne’s work; yet Mackenzie was a matter-of-fact Edinburgh lawyer—almost the last man from whom would be expected an orgy of sobs. A possible parody on the “sentiment” portrayed in *The Man of Feeling* is Fergusson’s poem *The Sow of Feeling*, in which the more evident and less artistic qualities of sentimentality are held up to ridicule. The sow is as prone to weep over the expected demise of her children as was Harley to “drop a tear” at the death or ill-fortune of the many characters whom he met on his journey to the city.

There is a rather evident trace of sentiment in *The Pickwick Papers*, Chapter VI, where the old clergyman relates to the members of the Pickwickian group the Story of the Convict’s Return. In the name *Edmunds* may linger some faint recollection of Mackenzie’s *Edwards*; the character of the insertion in *Pickwick* is very

similar to the story by the Scot. Again, in Chapter XI, Dickens presents the old clergyman's manuscript—one of the devices of the "Sentimental School."

Dickens's name is likewise associated with that of another Scotchman—Tobias Smollett. A literary characteristic descended from Rabelais to Smollett and thence to Dickens. The similarity is frequently noticeable in the boisterous, rude, frank, sometimes brutal traits of the characters. But the chief point of importance in Smollett is his introduction of seafaring life into his stories. Smollett had followed the sea as surgeon's mate on board the *Cumberland*, and therefore had an excellent opportunity to observe the conditions then existing in the marine service. Though we may not approve of all his naval characters, yet they represent a practically new element in the development of the novel. Such weak attempts to depict the sailor class as we find in the stories of DeFoe are but imaginary portrayals in keeping with the pseudo-historical atmosphere of all those stories of adventures on the high seas. Smollett used the style of writing known as the picaresque, the story being a series of stories revolving about one rascally character in a more or less related degree. He also incorporated a coarse element from Rabelais. This brutal coarseness in a modified form descended, along with the interweaving of incident upon

incident, to Dickens in such tales as *Pickwick* and the later and more realistic novels of purpose.

The subject matter of Smollett, though with the unsavory parts omitted, was revived and brought to greater prominence in America in the early years of our literary development. The sea and its moods, as well as the sea-faring characters, appear to even better advantage in the sea tales of Cooper. As in Smollett, so also in Cooper, there is the recollection of actual experiences upon the ocean while in active service. But though Smollett sometimes liked to satirize the English navy and its commanders, Cooper's purpose was more worthy. In his sea tales, the glorification of the younger country is always before the eye in the overpowering of large fleets by small American vessels that were little more than privateers, or else the escape of the infantile fleet from a mighty pursuer.

In the domain of history there were three Scotchmen of considerable note in their period: Hume, whose real importance is in the realm of philosophy though his *History* is still at least a memory; Robertson, now almost forgotten; and Smollett. In historical work they followed in general the trend of their fellow-countrymen. For many years, Scotch students and antiquarians had been producing works dealing with various phases of early Scottish life; these works found many readers.

When Hume had almost abandoned his philosophical work, he turned to history as a field that might bring forth a rich yield. The reigns of James I and Charles I of England attracted him and, to his own astonishment—for he was notoriously indolent—he kept at his subject, spurred on by literary ambition, his ruling passion. At this time there was scarcely a work in existence that could rightfully be called a history; no man who possessed the power to grasp facts and to reproduce his material in literary form had written earlier. The history of the earliest of the Stuarts was published by Millar of London in 1754. At first the book did not meet with the enthusiastic reception which Hume had expected, and for a while he threatened to remove from the British Isles and locate in France, where he thought he should be appreciated. But the threat was not carried out, and he soon set to work on the continuation of the *History of England* and carried it to the Revolution of 1688. This volume was attacked by both Whig and Tory, inasmuch as it did not favor either political party. Despite these adverse comments and criticisms, the *History* slowly grew in popularity, and Hume continued it; the house of Tudor was presented to the public in two volumes in 1759, and the period from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to Henry VII, in 1761. There the work stopped. Hume had grown tired of the enter-

prise, his erstwhile indolent spirit having gained control; he had won the fame he sought, and through the sale of his *History* had become a man of comparative wealth.

Robertson, although now little read, was considered the greatest of the historians of his day and was generally placed above Gibbon by their contemporaries. At the time when Hume was preparing the manuscript of the initial volume of his *History of England*, Robertson determined to take up a subject more interesting to the Scot, namely, a *History of Scotland*. Completed by 1758, it was printed in the following year and met with immediate success. Robertson was in all respects a moderate; therefore, the tone of his *History* offended none of his readers. Though the *History* was somewhat pompous and stiff in diction, yet the age was so accustomed to stilted phraseology that it did not object to that fault, but enjoyed the animation and vigorous tone of the narrative. The author, though born and bred in Scotland, wrote the purest English, avoiding the Scotticisms by which Hume's work was marred. He was praised in highest terms by Horace Walpole; in 1762 was chosen Principal of the University; and was honored with other noteworthy appointments.

For ten years Robertson made no attempt to add to his fame. He thought of taking the history of England as his next subject, but

refrained out of deference to his friend Hume, whose province he would have thus invaded. Finally he determined to treat of the Spanish king, Charles V, and in 1769 published three quarto volumes on *The History of the Reign of Charles V*. Despite the scarcity of the Spanish sources of information, his work again proved a brilliant success. It was translated into French; and the notabilities of the time wrote flattering letters to the somewhat diffident minister. Even Johnson accepted this sensible Scot, who was in such awe of the Dictator that he dared not oppose Johnson's dogmatic utterances.

Robertson's next historical work on the discovery and conquest of America, was an outgrowth of the *History of Charles V.*, for he had become interested in the development of Spanish influences in the Americas. Information pertaining to such a subject was scanty, though he had the good fortune to receive valuable aid from the Ambassador to Madrid. He had the canny Scotch shrewdness in grasping facts and in presenting them clearly and vigorously.

When we consider that Robertson was badly handicapped because original sources were not accessible, we give him the honor due to any pioneer in a new field. The same general subject was again treated in the work of Prescott, who had the added advantage of later investigations and of access to valuable original docu-

ments. Yet Prescott often refers to the works of Robertson, and sometimes directly quotes passages to make his own statements the more conclusive.

Smollett was an historian not entirely from choice, but rather from necessity. His work is that of the literary hack. He had not the knowledge of his fellow countrymen necessary to produce an important historical work; but what he lacked in erudition, he attempted to overcome by infusing into his history all the interest of a novel. The *History of England from the Death of Julius Cæsar to the Year 1748* is not really history but rather narrative. It has vigor, but it lacks accuracy.

After these three men had prepared the way, others took up the subject of historical research. Even in the same century there was one follower who far surpassed his predecessors. This was Gibbon, who completed his masterpiece in 1787; in his work accuracy of fact is combined with the interest of a narrative. He had repeatedly read Robertson<sup>3</sup> and Hume; and had evidently taken note of the defects in both men, so took warning of their experience by wisely

<sup>3</sup> "The perfect composition, the nervous language," wrote Gibbon, "the well-turned periods of Dr. Robertson inflamed me to the ambitious hope that I might one day tread in his footsteps; the calm philosophy, the careless, inimitable beauties of his friend and rival, often forced me to close the volume with a mixed sensation of delight and despair."

forbearing to introduce a pompous tone into the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Of all the historians of the eighteenth century, Gibbon is the only one who still holds a prominent place in the realm of letters.

In his own day, Hume made a greater impression by his historical work than by his philosophical writing. Since his death in 1776, a different view has prevailed; and it is Hume the philosopher of whom we think rather than Hume the historian. His historical work has been superseded by later and more careful writers, but his philosophical reasoning opened the way for the much more important theories of Kant.

Hume agreed with Locke that we have knowledge only of our sensations and ideas, and also with Berkeley that there is no evidence of the existence of a material world; but he went a step further by arguing that we have as little knowledge of the existence of mind, for all we know is merely a series of ideas or impressions. Whence they come, wherein they exist, or whither they go, we cannot tell. We know nothing, then, of body and soul, matter and mind, the world outside and the personal identity within, as substances; we cannot prove the existence of these things.

Hume thus had a great influence on modern philosophical thought. He "aroused Kant from his dogmatic slumbers," as Kant himself



put it, and thus helped to bring about the modern critical movement in philosophy. The positive content of his thinking was adopted by the so-called Association School in England, whose chief exponents are the two Mills and Bain. Hume's position was the logical outcome of Locke's empiricism. Berkeley carried Locke's thought to its logical consequence in regard to matter (the external world); Hume's in regard to soul (the internal world).

Another kind of literature that received a strong impetus from eighteenth century Scotland was biography. "It was on Monday, the 16th of May (1763) when I was sitting in Mr. Davies' back Parlour, after having drank tea with him and Mrs. Davies, Johnson unexpectedly came into the little shop. \* \* \* Mr. Davies mentioned my name, and respectfully introduced me." Thus James Boswell records his first meeting with the lexicographer, and thus was fulfilled the half-formed wish that Boswell had made in 1760 to meet the famous man. From that time on, no opportunity was allowed to slip which might bring him within hearing of his oracle. So assiduous was the youthful Scotchman in his attentions that Johnson more than once expressed his annoyance in no measured terms.

There is not the least doubt that Boswell was a hero-worshiper. When he stopped at Corsica, after leaving the dull law lectures at Utrecht,

he at once attached himself to the Corsican patriot Paoli, whose words and actions he carefully treasured in note books at night. Well had Boswell taken to heart the advice of Mr. Love, his tutor in English pronunciation, to keep a diary of everything he heard and saw. In 1768 he published *An Account of Corsica*. Immediately he became a celebrity.

After the publication of this book, Boswell went up to London to renew acquaintance with his old cronies, to shine as the newest luminary in the literary heavens, and to become again the personal satellite of Johnson. All told, according to the computations of Croker, Boswell's life in London did not amount to more than two years; his actual intercourse with Johnson covered less than three hundred days. In 1784 Johnson died; the opportunity for which Boswell had waited so long was now at hand. Who so well prepared to write a life of "the great bear," or so thoroughly conversant with the utterances of the literary dictator? On the 16th of May, 1791, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* was presented to the expectant public. No date could have been more fitting, for it celebrated an anniversary of Boswell's introduction to the lexicographer. This biography has become the standard by which all similar work is judged. While the *Life* gives us our best picture of the various phases of Johnson's character, it also reveals Boswell himself.

It shows the pleasure its author derived from basking in the light of greatness; it likewise exposes his willingness to be snubbed if thereby he might gain his purpose. Burke remarked that Johnson was greater in Boswell's pages than in any of his own; Macaulay but reiterated the same idea when he said that we know more of Johnson through the biography than we do from his own writings. It seems odd that the vain and talkative Boswell should have recognized his ability and power to portray Johnson, and that the seven years which he occupied in collecting and revising his materials were the years which proved most creditable to himself.

Boswell showed to his contemporaries and to his successors the best possible method of writing biography. The intimate and personal touches throw sidelights on character; thus the reader feels almost personally acquainted with the hero. Probably the most immediate influence of the work is to be found in Lockhart's *Life of Walter Scott*, which is introduced by Scott's own autobiography, followed by the revelation of the poet-novelist, which his son-in-law enriched by many personal touches.

The eighteenth century in England is often considered to be the formative period of our present-day literature. In that century occurred the poetic revolt and also the initial steps in the development of the novel. It is not often admitted that England received any inspira-

tion or suggestion from the lesser parts of Great Britain. From this discussion, however, it is evident that Scotland exerted considerable influence in the initiation of the newer literary movements. To her we are indebted for the "Nature movement," which reached its height with Wordsworth; and for the element of melancholy and the appreciation of the sea. Other influences are apparent in some of the minor phases of the novel. The earlier historians were Scotchmen, who brought to prominence that interest in past events which was apparently innate in the Scotch mind. In biography, Boswell set the standard for all work. In certain respects Macpherson's Ossianic poetry and Hume's philosophical reasoning exerted the most widespread influence on literature in general. In the one case the gloomy and romantic element of the "poems" struck a kindred note when carried into Continental literature; in the other instance the reasoning was brought to greater depth and breadth when it was taken up by Continental philosophers.

## A NEW NOTE ON THE DATE OF CHAUCER'S KNIGHT'S TALE

BY OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON, PH.D.

In recent years the great question in connection with *The Knight's Tale* has been its essential identity, in its present form, with the *Palamon and Arcite* mentioned in the *Prologue* to *The Legend of Good Women*.<sup>1</sup> The acceptance of that identity, as is now usual, presupposes an earlier composition of *The Knight's Tale* than was formerly thought possible, a date at least earlier than that of the *Legend*. As to this point, Mr. F. J. Mather, in his *Introduction to Chaucer's Prologue, The Knight's Tale, and The Nun's Priest's Tale* (1894), not only asserted his belief in the essential identity of the *Palamon and Arcite* with *The Knight's Tale*, but dated them as of "about 1381."<sup>2</sup> This date Dr. Mather further emphasized in his article "On the Date of the Knight's Tale" contributed to *An English Miscellany* (1901).<sup>3</sup> There, he made some use of Professor Skeat's computa-

<sup>1</sup> The *Prologue*, A, 408; B, 420.

<sup>2</sup> *Introduction*, p. xvii, and footnote.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 310.

tion of the years when May 5 was Sunday, and when the incidents of *The Knight's Tale* might correspond with the dates of an actual year. This computation had been printed by Professor Skeat as early as 1868, though he chose the year 1387 as the more likely one in Chaucer's mind.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Mather, arguing for the identity of *The Knight's Tale* and the *Palamon and Arcite*, prefers 1381 to 1387, and his argument certainly makes good the preference.

Some confirmation of the earlier date was offered by Professor John L. Lowes in his article on "The Tempest at hir Hoom cominge," *Modern Language Notes*, xix, 240-43. He there suggests that the 'tempest,' which has no counterpart in Chaucer's source, Boccaccio's *Teseide*, probably refers to an event of December 18, 1381, when Anne came to England to become Richard Second's queen.<sup>5</sup> The coming of Queen Hippolyta to Athens suggested, as he thinks, the current event of greatest importance to London, the coming of her who was soon to be known as the Good Queen Anne. It was but

<sup>4</sup> *Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, ii, 243. The note was later embodied in the *Temporary Preface to the Canterbury Tales*, p. 103, and still later in Skeat's *Chaucer* (1897f.).

<sup>5</sup> FROISSART says that Anne sailed from Calais on Wednesday, landing in England the same day (see *Chronicles*, bk. ii, ch. 86). On the basis of Professor Skeat's calculation that May 5, 1381, was Sunday, this Wednesday in December would be the eighteenth. As Lowes notes, chroniclers vary a little in the date, and C. Oman (*Pol. Hist. of England*,

a step in the association of ideas to allude to what must have impressed Chaucer and his contemporaries as a singular instance of supernatural power. See the quotations from the chroniclers given in the article mentioned.

Beyond this, so far as I have seen, there has been no further attempt to confirm so early a date for *The Knight's Tale*. Professor John S. P. Tatlock, in his *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*,<sup>6</sup> argues for 1384-6, and Mr. A. W. Pollard, in his *Introduction to The Knight's Tale* (1903), assumes a similar period. Neither accepts the conclusions of Mather and Lowes, Tatlock arguing against them in detail. Yet further confirmation of the year 1381 is possible, I believe, from a passage which occurs near the close of the *Tale*, when Theseus is about to propose the marriage of Palamon and Emily. We may begin with line 2967 of Group A (l. 2109 of the *Tale* proper), and continue through 2974, though not all the lines are equally important for our purpose:

iv, 66) says Dec. 21. In discussing "The Prologue to the Legend of Good Women Considered in its Chronological Relations" (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, xx, 843) Lowes refers to his former article in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, and, regarding Professor Skeat's computation, mentions 'the very probable relation of the series in which it [the third of May] stands to the calendar of the current year.' In other words he seems to approve the use made of that computation.

<sup>6</sup> *Chaucer Society*, Second Series (1907), p. 70.

"By processe and by lengthe of certeyn yeres,  
 Al stynted is the moornyng and the teres  
 Of Grekes, by oon general assent.  
 Thanne semed me ther was a parlement  
 At Athenes, upon certein poynts and caas;  
 Among the whiche poynts y-spoken was,  
 To have with certein contrees alliaunce,  
 And have fully of Thebans obeissaunce."

To the first part of this passage there is a rough correspondence in *Teseide* xii, st. 3;

"Dappoichè furon più giorni passati  
 Dopo lo sventurato avvenimento,  
 Con Teseo essendo gli Greci adunati,  
 Parve di general consentimento," etc.

But for the last four lines there is nothing in the original, as Professor Lounsbury early pointed out in his *Studies in Chaucer*, i, 46:

The Italian work mentions days as passed and not years. It has no allusion to the summoning of a parliament for the purpose of considering questions of peace and war. These are the alterations and additions made by the English poet.

Professor Lounsbury did not further explain the passage, and special attention has been called to it but rarely. Professor Skeat merely adds, on lines 2967-2986, "Cf. the *Teseide* xii, 3-5." Mr. Pollard has an interesting note on "Thanne semed me," in his edition of *The Knight's Tale*:

This strange phrase may be a reminiscence of Boccaccio's 'parve' in the lines 'Con Teseo essendo



gli Greci adunati, Parve di general consentimento Ch' i' tristi pianti omai fosser lasciati'—it seemed good to the Greeks in council to give over mourning. Otherwise we can only explain Chaucer's 'semed me' as a relic of the dream form in which he cast several of his earlier poems. Cf. 'saugh I' of l. 1137.

Even the first part of this note is not very convincing, while surely Mr. Pollard's free translation of the Italian, especially his 'in council,' seems to imply a closer resemblance to the English than actually exists.

Only Mr. H. B. Hinckley, in his *Notes on Chaucer*, has attempted to explain the last four lines of the passage. Of these he says: "Chaucer had probably heard something of the actual political union of Athens and Thebes (see p. 54), which he is here trying to recall." On the page cited he refers to "the establishment of the so-called Latin Empire of Constantinople (A. D. 1204), to which the Duchy of Athens was soon added as a fief." Some other details are given, but none that convince me Chaucer had in mind facts so remote in time and place.

Far simpler and more reasonable than any of these explanations, it seems to me, is it to connect these lines with events that must have been in every courtier's mind, if not in that of every Englishman, during a considerable part of the year 1381 and the early part of 1382. I refer especially to that alliance of England and Bohemia which accompanied the marriage of Anne

and the young Richard II. If emphasis be placed on Chaucer's 'contrees' of line 2973, we may remember that the alliance of Bohemia and England was but part of a great European league for the support of Pope Urban VI against Clement VII, the schismatic. Of these the Bohemian alliance is more important for England. That accompaniment of the marriage contract has been little considered in the biographies of Chaucer, and perhaps on this account its relation to these lines has not been fully appreciated. Yet it was highly important in its day, as it will be easy to show. Indeed, while alliances of a minor sort were rather frequent, especially during the reign of Edward III, there was no such alliance of independent states accompanied by a royal marriage to which the lines of Chaucer could refer, except this of the years 1381-2. Besides, it was just such an event as would have impressed the mind of the poet, himself more than once engaged in similar foreign relations of his country.

To show at once that the alliance of England with a foreign state and the marriage of the young king were regarded as important, we need only note the language of Froissart. I quote from the translation of Johnes:

About this same season, there were many councils held in England, by the uncles of the king, the prelates and barons, relative to marrying the young king Richard. The English would have preferred

a princess of Hainault out of love for that good lady queen Philippa, who had been so virtuous, liberal and honorable, and who had come from Hainault; but Duke Albert, at that time, had not any daughters marriageable. The Duke of Lancaster would willingly have seen the king, his nephew, married to his daughter, whom he had had by the lady Blanch of Lancaster, but the people would not have consented to this for two reasons; that the lady was his cousin-german, and too nearly related; and that they wished the king to choose a queen from beyond sea, in order to gain stronger alliances. The sister of the king of Bohemia and of Germany, daughter of the lately deceased emperor, was then proposed and the whole council assented to it.<sup>7</sup>

Yet even the language of Froissart, explicit as it is regarding the wish for a foreign alliance, does not emphasize the importance of this league between England and Bohemia. To understand it fully, we must have in mind the more exact situation of England in this period. We must remember, that the war with France had already been carried on intermittently for forty years when Richard came to the throne; that the glories of Sluys, Crécy, and Poitiers had been

<sup>7</sup> *Chronicles* ii, ch. 43; *Johnes*, i, 592-3. It will be noticed that Froissart, after mentioning the interest in the marriage, hastens to that choice which finally became the match. He places this interest in the king's marriage just after the death of Charles IV of Bohemia, Nov. 29, 1378. The rest of his account refers to later events. But Froissart also mentions earlier negotiations for the marriage of the prince Richard, as we shall see.

more than clouded by the later failures of the Black Prince and the great Edward; that the command of the sea had been lost, and large portions of the French possessions wrested from the empire in the early seventies; and that at the death of Edward III every port was closed, lest the news should place England at the mercy of her hereditary foe.<sup>8</sup> All these were reasons why England was in need as never before, and why Pope Gregory XI, in the exercise of his power as mediator, had tried to bring the warring nations together by the marriage of the young Richard, even while still heir to the throne, with a princess of France.<sup>9</sup>

The failure of the efforts to bring England and France together in 1376-7 and the early part of 1378 was soon followed by an event quite as great in European history as the Hundred Years War. Richard II had been on the throne

<sup>8</sup> FROISSART'S *Chronicles*, i, ch. 327; Johnes, i, 510.

<sup>9</sup> In these negotiations regarding the marriage of the young prince, Chaucer was at least twice engaged. See the discussion in Skeat's *Chaucer* i, xxvii f.; Longmans, *The Life and Times of Edward III*, ii, 271f.; Froissart's *Chronicles* i, ch. 326, where Chaucer is mentioned as one of the negotiators. It may be noted also that the marriage of Richard did not become an important consideration until after he been acknowledged heir to the throne, just after the Black Prince died in 1376. Then the 'Good' Parliament, in the very month of the Black Prince's death, had Richard brought before it and proclaimed by the archbishop of Canterbury as 'the true heir apparent of the throne'; Longmans, ii, 256.

scarcely more than a year when Gregory XI died (March, 1378), Urban VI was elected, and before many months Christendom was torn asunder by the great schism of the papacy. This breaking of long-established religious relations had the most far-reaching consequences. The nations were now compelled to decide between rival popes, and the decisions brought a new alignment in western Europe. France naturally espoused the cause of Clement, the French pope. England received the representatives of both popes at the Gloucester parliament of October-November, 1378, and decided to hold with Urban. Under these circumstances there was no papal mediator to urge a close of the disastrous French war, or a union of the two countries on the basis of a royal marriage. It was thus inevitable that England should look elsewhere for a queen, and for such alliances as she should thereafter form.

We need not consider all the various suggestions of a bride for the young king, some of them noted from Froissart. Most interesting is the proposal of Katherine, daughter of that Bernabò Visconti to whom Chaucer had gone as ambassador in 1378, perhaps partly in connection with this same business of his young master's marriage.<sup>10</sup> The appointment of ne-

<sup>10</sup> The conjecture is made by Professor Tatlock in *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 41. It is interesting to note that this match was highly considered

gotiators with Bernabò was made March 18, 1379, Michael de la Pole, Sir John Burley, and Dr. John Sheppey being named.<sup>11</sup> Of more importance are the negotiations which resulted in the marriage of Richard and Anne of Bohemia in 1382. I shall therefore undertake to present them in some detail, and emphasize some elements that have not hitherto been noted.

To understand the negotiations between England and Bohemia we must keep in mind the important relations of the papal schism. That rupture not only made a new alignment of the nations in spiritual affairs, but separated, for the first time in many years, the traditional allies Bohemia and France. We need but remember that John of Luxemburg, the blind king of Bohemia, had fought and given his life as an ally of France at Crécy in 1346. It is no less significant of the strange changes which time brings that the Black Prince, father of the Richard who was soon to marry the granddaughter of that same blind king, won his first vic-

by some, at least. The *Chronicon Angliæ* (Rolls Series 64, 331), speaking of the marriage of Anne, says: "Hanc igitur magno pretio, multisque coemptam laboribus, habendam rex præelegerat, quamquam cum inæstimabili auri summa oblata fuisset et filia domini Mediolanensis Barnabonis." Perhaps the hostility of the writer to John of Gaunt may have had something to do with his apparent disapprobation of the marriage with Anne, perhaps only his belief that a bad bargain had been made.

<sup>11</sup> RYMER'S *Fœdera*, vii, 213.

tory at Crécy, and there, is sometimes said to have adopted the insignia of the dead Bohemian monarch, the three black ostrich plumes and the motto 'ich dien.' Charles IV of Bohemia, John's son, and father of Anne, continued the French alliance. Yet he was fully in sympathy with the election of Urban VI as pope, and there is little probability that he would have changed his allegiance, had he lived to consider the claims of the schismatic pope. He died two months and nine days after the election of Clement, or Nov. 29, 1378.

Before Charles Fourth's death, or on Nov. 5, 1378, Clement had sent to the Bohemian court Bishop John of Cambray,<sup>12</sup> but early in the following year Urban despatched, as papal nuncio, his efficient legate Pileus de Prata, cardinal of Ravenna.<sup>13</sup> Pileus reached the court of Wenceslaus in March, 1379, and urged him to hold with Urban, as Ludwig of Hungary was doing. He emphasized, as an effective argument with the young emperor then only eighteen, that to support Clement would make a heretic of Wenceslaus's father, only a few months dead.<sup>14</sup> For this and other reasons Wenceslaus remained firm, and even vigorously supported Urban.

<sup>12</sup> LINDNER, *Geschichte des deutschen Reiches unter König Wenzel*, i, 102, footnote.

<sup>13</sup> LINDNER, i, 94.

<sup>14</sup> HÖFLER, *Anna von Luxemburg, Denkschriften d. Wiener Akad., Phil.-Hist. Classe*, xx, 130. Lindner, i, 113.

In connection with this support, he wrote a letter to Richard II of England, as early as May 20, 1379, suggesting an alliance against the schismatic Clement.<sup>15</sup> Curiously enough, at this very time English commissioners might have been at the court of Wenceslaus, perhaps to discuss the question of a marriage between Richard and Anne. Six days after the commissioners had been appointed to visit Bernabò Visconti, or on March 24, 1379, two of them, Michael de la Pole and Gerard de Lisle, were granted letters of safe conduct as about to go to the Roman court (versus Curiam Romanam).<sup>16</sup> From Rome, perhaps at the suggestion of the pope, they went to Germany, where they were unfortunately imprisoned, to be released only after another commission had been sent from England with a ransom.<sup>17</sup> But for this, the negotiations for a marriage of Richard and Anne might possibly have been hastened.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> HÖFLER, 127. Lindner, i, 95, gives a rhetorical extract from this letter, in which Wenceslaus professes that he is willing to shed his blood for the church.

<sup>16</sup> RYMER, new ed. iv, 60.

<sup>17</sup> RYMER, vii, 232; this commission is dated Jan. 20, 1380.

<sup>18</sup> I say possibly, because the question as to whether these commissioners were to propose such a marriage rests upon the interpretation of a record in the *Issues of the Exchequer* (Devon, p. 224) of Jan. 9, 1384: "To Sir Michael de la Pole, Chancellor of England, lately sent from England to Milan, and from thence to the court of Rome to the King of the Romans and Bohemia as a King's messenger, to enter into a treaty for marriage to be had between the said



In this letter of Wenceslaus to Richard there was no mention of binding the alliance by a royal marriage. On the side of Wenceslaus, it was perhaps not thought of at this time. On the part of Richard's councilors, the idea of a peace with France, cemented by the marriage of Richard with a French princess, was still in mind. The latter is certainly shown by the appointment, on Sept. 26, 1379, of ambassadors to treat with "those of France" (*cum illis de*

Lord the King and Anne Queen of England, taken prisoner in those parts under the safe conduct of the same King of the Romans, upon [his] return from the parts aforesaid." If this record is correct, the marriage of Richard and Anne was proposed somewhat earlier than has usually been supposed. The Exchequer record is followed by the writer of the article on Pole in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which, however, is certainly wrong in some of its statements, as pointed out by C. G. Chamberlayne in *Die Heirat Richards II von England mit Anna von Luxemburg* (Halle, 1906). On the other hand the latter assumes that 'Curiam Romanam' above means the court of Wenceslaus, though admitting that its usual meaning is the papal court. This seems to me wholly untenable. Indeed, it is hard to believe that marriage negotiations with Bohemia were seriously considered in England during the winter of 1379-80. Twice while Pole was abroad (see above), commissions were appointed to treat with France and arrange for a marriage with a French princess. Perhaps, as the Exchequer entry is of Jan. 9, 1384, nearly two years after the marriage of Richard and Anne, Pole's later connection with the marriage arrangements was confused with this earlier mission to Italy and Rome. In any case, negotiations with Bohemia were taken up anew in June, 1380.

Francia).<sup>19</sup> The extent of the powers granted may be inferred from these words:

Et ensement de Tretir, Ordenir, et Accorder ovesque nostre dit Adversaire, ou sez Procureres, sur Aliances, Confederacies, et Amities, soit il par Mariage et Contracte de Matrimoine de nostre Persone de mesme, ou par autre voie quelque soit, en general, ou en especiale, come vous semblera bon.

Again on April 1, 1380, other ambassadors were appointed "*De Tractando cum Adversario Franciæ*,"<sup>20</sup> with powers expressed in practically the same words. On the same day also, safe conduct was granted ambassadors of France to enter the English possessions and consider such treaty and marriage.

For some reason the negotiations were fruitless, as they had been so many times before. Possibly they were not carried out in entire good faith, for, on the first of March, 1380, an offensive and defensive alliance was entered into with Brittany.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps the explanation of the failure was in the influence of John of Gaunt and his anger against the alliance of France and Spain.<sup>22</sup> At least, on the twenty-third of May,

<sup>19</sup> RYMER, vii, 229.

<sup>20</sup> RYMER, vii, 248.

<sup>21</sup> RYMER, vii, 236. "*Liga Offensiva et Defensiva, conclusa per quattuor Commissarios Regis et Septem Commissarios Ducis Britanniae*."

<sup>22</sup> Cf. C. OMAN, *Political History of England*, iv, 19. Such influence of the Duke of Lancaster might also explain the

power was given by the king to treat with the king and queen of Portugal,<sup>23</sup> and on the fifth day of July a treaty with them was made.<sup>24</sup> On the first of June, provision was made for invading France under the command of Thomas, Earl of Buckingham.<sup>25</sup> On June 24 the king sent to every bishop of England a recital of the treachery and bad faith of the French king in negotiating, the purpose to proceed with the war, and a request for the prayers of the clergy for the success of the expedition.<sup>26</sup> With such preparations the Earl of Buckingham set out, and from July 20 to October marched quite around Paris, finally reaching Rennes in Brittany. That his expedition was of little avail to England does not concern us here.<sup>27</sup> Under such circumstances, either peace with France, or marriage with a French princess, was equally impossible. Nor did Richard again consider such an alliance with his long-time enemy until 1396, when Anne had been in her grave more than two years.

It was when these efforts at peace with France

apparent preference of the anti-Lancastrian chronicler of the *Chronicon Angliæ* for the marriage with the daughter of Bernabò Visconti. See footnote 10.

<sup>23</sup> RYMER, vii, 253.

<sup>24</sup> RYMER, vii, 262f.

<sup>25</sup> RYMER, vii, 256.

<sup>26</sup> RYMER, vii, 260.

<sup>27</sup> FROISSART, *Chronicles*, ii, ch. 50f; Johnes, i, 604; and Oman, *Pol. Hist. of Eng.*, iv, 19-20.

were a failure that an opportunity presented itself for a royal marriage and alliance with the house then representing all that was left of the empire of the Romans. The suggestion doubtless came from abroad. We have already noted that Wenceslaus had written to Richard in May, 1379,<sup>28</sup> suggesting an alliance against schismatics. That letter was doubtless inspired by Cardinal Pileus, the papal nuncio to Bohemia, who was doing all in his power to bring the nations to the support of Urban.<sup>29</sup> Before another year had passed, through his efforts, all Germany, except the Duke of Brabant and the cities of Metz and Mainz, had bound themselves to the support of the Roman pope.<sup>30</sup> To further the same cause Cardinal Pileus went to England in the spring or early summer of 1380. This we know first of all from Froissart. He says:

The Cardinal of Ravenna was at that time [the summer of 1380] in England and, being an Urbanist, was converting the English to the same way of thinking.<sup>31</sup>

Froissart was not wholly right that the cardinal of Ravenna was, at just this time, "converting

<sup>28</sup> See p. 214.

<sup>29</sup> LINDNER, i, 94.

<sup>30</sup> LINDNER, i, 105: "Schon ehe der Reichstag zusammen trat, konnte Pileus an Urban gutes Bericht senden. Ganz Deutschland bis auf drei, . . . hangen dem wahren Papste an."

<sup>31</sup> *Chronicles*, ii, ch. 50; *Johnes*, i, 606.

the English," for Urban had been fully accepted at the parliament of Gloucester (Oct. 20 to Nov. 16, 1378) when legates from both popes pressed their rival claims. But there is other evidence that Pileus de Prata, the Ravennese cardinal, had come to England in the year 1380. On June 7 Richard granted to the cardinal certain rights in offices connected with Lichfield and Lincoln cathedrals, "on account of the good affection which we have for the person of the reverend father in Christ, the cardinal of Ravenna, and for the good will and wish which he has shown us and our kingdom beforetime, and is showing at present."<sup>22</sup>

It was doubtless Cardinal Pileus of Ravenna who, to strengthen the cause of Urban, first suggested to the English, or at least now urged upon them, an alliance of their country with Bohemia and the marriage of Richard with a German princess. This becomes more evident, as we see the full relations of the marriage to the politics of the papal schism. Pope Urban, as we have seen, had secured the allegiance of Wenceslaus. But Clement still hoped to bring him over to his side, or at least weaken his support of Urban, by persuading him to continue the long-existing alliance with France. This

<sup>22</sup> Pro bona Affectione, quam erga Personam, Reverendi in Christo Patris, Cardinalis de Ravenna habemus, et pro bona Voluntate et Delectione, quas ipse Nobis et Regno nostro hactenus monstravit, et indies monstrat." RYMER, vii, 256.

last he hoped to accomplish by the marriage of Anne of Bohemia, sister of Wenceslaus, and the son of Charles V of France, who was soon to become Charles VI. There had even been talk of this marriage of Anne and the Dauphin during a visit of Wenceslaus to Aix-la-Chapelle.<sup>33</sup> This visit was made after the diet of Frankfort in April, 1380.<sup>34</sup> Besides, the sagacious Charles V of France did not take kindly to the severing of relations with Germany, likely to result from the papal schism. Even

<sup>33</sup> Valois says, in *La France et le grand schisme d'occident*, i, 300: "Durant un séjour de Wenceslas à Aix-la-Chapelle, on avait parlé d'un mariage entre le dauphin, fils du roi de France, et Anne de Luxembourg, sœur du roi des Romains. Une entrevue devait avoir lieu entre Charles V et Wenceslas. . . . La cour d'Avignon comptait beaucoup sur le résultat de cette conférence. Entre autres personnages qui promettaient de s'y rendre, je citerai les envoyés du roi de Portugal et, à leur tête, l'évêque de Lisbonne, qui déjà préparait le discours avec lequel il devait convertir Wenceslas. Cette entrevue n'eut pas lieu: le roi des Romains, tournant le dos à Reims, reprit la route de Cologne. Il se fit, il est vrai, représenter à Paris par quatre ambassadeurs, mais l'acte, sans doute rédigé d'avance, dont ces derniers étaient porteurs ne traitait que du renouvellement des alliances entre les deux maisons, sans souffler mot de mariage du dauphin avec la bohémienne Anne." I am indebted, for pointing this out, to my friend Professor G. L. Burr of Cornell University. As authorities for this statement Valois cites, Lettre du cardinal de Viviers aux cardinaux de Florence et de Milan, Baluzius, ii, 869; and his own edition of the *Discours prononcé le 14 juillet 1380, en présence de Charles V. par Martin l'évêque de Lisbonne*, in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, lii, 495, 500.

<sup>34</sup> LINDNER, i, 114, 116, 430.

on his death-bed, in the early autumn of 1380, he said to his courtiers:

Seek out in Germany an alliance for my son that our connections there may be strengthened. You have heard that our adversary is about to marry from thence to increase his allies.<sup>25</sup>

Such a marriage with Anne of Bohemia was also urged when Charles VI had come to the throne. The Clementists saw in it their only hope of winning Wenceslaus and Germany.<sup>26</sup> This is fully implied in a letter of Cardinal Peter de Sortenac, quoted by Höfler. He writes:

Nec est spes eum [Wenceslaus] pro nunc revocandi nisi per tractatum matrimonii, qui pendet de sorore sua danda regi Francie, in qua tractatu speratur, quod possit informari de justitia domini nostri et de præservatione fame et honoris patris sui mortui et per consequens reduci.<sup>27</sup>

We have also the testimony of the English chronicler Adam of Usk. Speaking of the Car-

<sup>25</sup> *Chronicles*, ii, ch. 55; *Johnes*, i, 616. Charles V. died Sept. 16, 1380, and the passage shows that Richard's idea of a marriage with a German princess was known in France at this time.

<sup>26</sup> LINDNER, i, 113: "Die einzige Hoffnung, Wenzel zur Umkehr zu bewegen, läge in jetzt schwebenden Verhandlungen über die Ehe zwischen seiner Schwester und dem Könige von Frankreich."

<sup>27</sup> HÖFLER, 130, footnote: from Baluzius, *Vita Paparum Avinionensium*, ii, 869. The last clause refers to the fear of Wenceslaus that, to recognize Clement, would make a heretic of his dead father; see p. 213.

dinal of Ravenna, whose notary he was while the former was in London, Adam says:

And after his departure, the said Lady Anne was bought for a price by our lord the king, for she was much sought in marriage by the king of France.<sup>32</sup>

The attempt of Clement to draw Bohemia and France together through the marriage of Anne perhaps accounts for the renewed efforts of Urban to prevent that alliance. Thus, doubtless, Cardinal Pileus came to England to urge the league between Bohemia and England, France's enemy, perhaps also a marriage of Richard II with a German princess. Nor was such a suggestion of Pileus de Prata likely to be without great weight. Made bishop of Ravenna in 1370, he had long been engaged, as representative of the pope, in trying to bring peace between England and France. In connection with this duty he was given letters of safe conduct by Edward III as early as June 8, 1374.<sup>33</sup> He was papal legate at Bruges in the negotiations between England and France in

<sup>32</sup> *Chronicon Adæ de Usk*, ed. by Thompson, p. 102-3. The original reads: "Post ejus recessum, dicta domina Anna, per dominum regem magno precio redempta, quia a rege Francie in uxorem affectata,"—p. 2-3. One cannot fail to notice that this rivalry of the king of France for the hand of Anna of Bohemia has direct relations to the interpretation of the *Parlement of Foules*. With that I have dealt in an article, "The Suitors in Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*", *Modern Philology*, viii, 45.

<sup>33</sup> RYMER, vii, 39.



1375, and he appears frequently thereafter in English records.<sup>40</sup> Coming at this time as representative of both the pope and the emperor, it is not strange that he should have been readily heard by Richard's council.

The suggestion of an alliance between England and Bohemia together with a royal marriage, was immediately taken up, it would seem. In this ready response the councilors of Richard were doubtless influenced by two motives. They desired a queen for their young king, and they strongly hoped to gain assistance against their old adversary, France. Besides, France and Spain had joined in a newly-formed league against the claims of John of Gaunt to the Spanish throne, and this added a new reason for desiring aid from abroad. As a result, on June 12, 1380, commissioners were appointed to treat for a marriage of Richard with Katherine, daughter of Ludwig, "recently emperor of the Romans."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> RYMER, vii, 51, 53, 56, 58, 61, 68, etc.

<sup>41</sup> RYMER, vii, 257: "*De Tractando super Matrimonio inter Regem et Filiam Ludovici, nuper Imperatoris.*" In the commission the daughter is called "*Dominam Katerinam Filiam, celebris memorie, Ludowici, nuper Romanorum Imperatoris.*" The commissioners were accredited, however, "*tam Serenissimi Principis Domini Wensalai Romanorum et Bohemie Regis, Fratris nostri carissimi, quam ejusdem Domine Katerine et Amicorum suorum.*" This first choice of a German bride for the boy king seems peculiar to say the least. The only Ludwig "recently emperor of the Romans" was Ludwig of Bavaria, who had died in 1347.

The commissioners were Sir Simon Burley, Sir Richard Braybrook, and Bernard Van Sedles, the first of whom had been appointed on the same day tutor to the king, then two months more than fourteen years old; that is, if born April 13, 1366, or a little more than thirteen if born January 6, or February 26, 1367.

It was in connection with this appointment that Froissart says:

Sir Simon Burley, a sage and valiant knight, who had been the king's tutor and much beloved by the prince his father, was nominated to go to Germany, to treat of this marriage, as a wise and able negotiator.<sup>42</sup> Every necessary preparation was ordered, as well for his expenses as otherwise. He set out from England magnificently equipped and arrived at Calais; from thence he went to Gravelines and continued his journey until he came to Brussels, where he met Duke Wenceslaus of Brabant, the Duke Al-

His daughter, therefore, could not have been less than twice as old as Richard. But perhaps, at the beginning of these negotiations with a far-away country, a mistake was made, and Anne, daughter of Charles IV, king of Bohemia and emperor of the Romans until his death in 1378 was from the first intended. At least the choice was soon changed, and the negotiations for the hand of Anne begun. Chamberlayne (p. 34) assumes a scribal error.

<sup>42</sup> *Chronicles*, ii, ch. xliii; translation of Johnes, i, 593. Froissart's previous paragraph speaks of the "sister of the king of Bohemia and Germany," and just before mentions the death of Charles IV of Bohemia, which occurred Nov. 29, 1378. From this he runs on to the later years, as everything else shows this to have been the first mission of Burley.

bert, the Count de Blois, the Count de St. Pol, Sir William de Maulny, and numbers of knights from Brabant, Hainault, and other parts, partaking of a great feast of tilts and tournaments; and it was on this occasion all these lords were there assembled. The Duke and Duchess of Brabant, from the love they bore the king of England, received his knight most courteously. They were much rejoiced on hearing the cause of his journey into Germany, and said it would be a good match between the king of England and their niece.<sup>43</sup> They gave to Sir Simon Burley, on his departure, special letters to the emperor, to assure him they approved very much of this marriage. The knight set out from Brussels, and took the road through Louvain to Cologne.

There is also further evidence in Froissart that the negotiations proceeded rapidly in the summer of 1380. In speaking of the invasion of France by the Earl of Buckingham, who left Calais on July 20, he says:<sup>44</sup>

The English passed Terouenne without attempting anything, for the lords de Saimpi and de Fransures were within it. They marched on towards Bethune, where they halted for a day; and I will tell you the reason. You have heard how King Richard, by the advice of his uncles and council, had sent into

<sup>43</sup> This would be Anne, not Katherine daughter of Ludwig of Bavaria. Froissart seems not to have known of the proposal for Katherine, or more likely, if a Katherine were ever really considered, the change to Anne had already been made.

<sup>44</sup> *Chronicles*, ii; ch. 50; *Johnes*, i, 606.

Germany Sir Simon Burley to the emperor, to demand his sister in marriage. This knight so well managed the business that the emperor, by the advice of his council and the great lords of his court, complied with the request, but he had sent with Sir Simon Burley the Duke of Saxony, first to Luxemburg and then to England, to observe that kingdom, in order that his sister might have a just account of it, so that, if agreeable, the marriage might be concluded.

The Cardinal of Ravenna was at that time in England and, being an Urbanist, was converting the English to the same way of thinking; he was waiting also the arrival of the above-mentioned duke. At the entreaties of the emperor and the Duke of Brabant, he and all his company obtained liberty to pass through France to Calais. They therefore travelled by way of Tournay, Lille, and Bethune, from whence they came to visit the Earl of Buckingham and his barons, who received the Duke of Saxony and his suite honourably. The Germans continued their journey through Aire and St. Omer, and from thence to Calais.

This very explicit statement makes clear that Sir Simon Burley was on his way back from Bohemia, with the Duke of Tetschen, or Saxony, by the latter part of July or the first of August, 1380, when the Earl of Buckingham was as yet only a little distance from Calais. There is also in one manuscript of Froissart further record regarding this visit of the Duke of Tetschen. It reads:<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Chronicles*, ii, at close of ch. 58; *Johnes*, i, 622.

You have heard how Sir Simon Burley, that gallant knight, attached to the household of King Richard of England, had been sent with proposals to the emperor in Germany respecting the marriage of the Lady Anne, his sister, with the king of England. He had transacted the business with ability, so that the emperor and his council consented; but he had brought with him, on his return, the Duke of Saxony, one of the council of the emperor, for him to observe the state of England, and to make inquiries concerning the dower, and how it was to be settled on the queen. . . .

The Duke of Saxony was much pleased with what he saw and heard, particularly respecting the dower; he was well satisfied with the king and his two uncles of Lancaster and Cambridge, for the other was in France, and also with the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Northumberland, and the other lords about the person of the king. When the duke had remained some time in England, and finished the business he had come upon, he took leave of the king, promising to persevere in the marriage to the conclusion. At his departure, he received handsome presents of jewels for himself, for those attendant on the person of the emperor, and also for the ladies who had the management of the young lady, Anne of Bohemia, the intended future queen of England. The duke returned, well pleased, to his own country; but this business was not immediately concluded, for the damsel was young, and the councils of each party had many things to arrange; add to this, there shortly happened in England great misery and great tribulation, as you will hear recounted in this history.

In this passage the words "for the other was in France," following the mention of "his two uncles of Lancaster and Cambridge," refer to Thomas, Earl of Buckingham, whom the Duke of Tetschen had already met on the Continent; see the preceding quotation. But there is here still further proof that this visit of the Duke of Tetschen was in 1380 and not the next year, for in June, 1381, the Duke of Cambridge was sent to Portugal.<sup>46</sup> He therefore could not have met the Bohemian ambassador in the summer of that year, and the visit of the Duke of Tetschen must have been in the preceding summer, as indicated by the other facts.

But there is further evidence that the negotiations for the Bohemian alliance were far advanced in the year 1380. On Dec. 12 of that year, another commission was appointed to treat of the marriage.<sup>47</sup> That this commission refers to the time after the first visit of the Duke of Tetschen is clear from the following words:

Unde, cum, post aliquos Tractatus super hoc habitos, Nobiles et Illustres Viri, Domini, Przemislaus

<sup>46</sup> The orders for the impressment of ships for the Earl of Cambridge are dated May 12, 1380, in Rymer (vii, 305), as noted by Armitage-Smith in his *John of Gaunt*, 263, footnote.

<sup>47</sup> *De Potestate contrahendi Sponsalia et Matrimonium cum Sorore Regis Romanorum*, Rymer, vii, 305. This document occurs, not in its chronological place in the *Fœdera*, but among the documents dated in May, 1381, when the articles of agreement were finally signed in London.

Dux Teschinensis, Conradus Creyer Magister Curiaë, et Petrus de Wartberg Magister Cameraë ipsius Serenissimi Fratris nostri, ad nostram Præsentiam Londiniæ declinarent, de dicta Parentele contrahenda, ac de certis aliis Ligarum, Amicitiarum, seu Confœderationem Articulis extitit ibidem mutuo Concordatum.

With the exception of Walter Skirlawe, who was also named commissioner, those appointed at this time were the same as on June 12. It seems but an extension of the powers originally granted, though after the Duke of Tetschen had spied out the land. The change of name from Katherine, daughter of Ludwig, to Anne, sister of the emperor, had also been made.

These later negotiations were so far successful that it was decided to continue them in Flanders, the commissioners to assemble on the feast of the Epiphany (Jan. 6).<sup>48</sup> Somewhat

<sup>48</sup> This paper was headed *De Tractando super Matrimonio inter Regem et Annam Sororem Imperatoris*, Rymer, vii, 280. In it occur these words: "Unde, cum, post aliquos Tractatus, super hoc habitos, pro Negotii hujusmodi Conclusionem, quædam Diæta in Flandria fuerit assignata, pro cujus observatione Ambassadors solempnes, tam pro parte ipsius Domine Annæ, et Amicorum suorum, quam nostra, debebant, juxta Conducta ibidem, in Feste Epiphaniæ Domini proximo convenire." This document says Anne was chosen "nedom propter ipsius Nobilitatem, set [sic] propter Famam celebrem bonitatis ipsius." Gairdner (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Anne) is unkind enough to suggest that this may have been because of Anne's probable lack of beauty, but the language of a serious state document surely does not justify this interpretation.

greater power was now given for the settling of the details of the marriage contract, and for this purpose Thomas, Duke of Kent, Hugo Segrave, and the indefatigable Sir Simon Burley were appointed. This latter paper was dated the twenty-sixth of December, and on Jan. 12 safe conduct was granted to the commissioners of Anne to come to Calais.<sup>49</sup>

The negotiations now proceeded rapidly. On Jan. 23 Anne appointed the Duke of Tetschen, Conrad Kreyger, and Peter de Wartberg to act for her.<sup>50</sup> On the last day of January Elizabeth, mother of Anne, named the same ambassadors to consent on her part, and on the first of February Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia and Roman emperor, gave them authority to make an alliance with England.<sup>51</sup> The decree of Wenceslaus gives,

Potestatem Tractandi, Contrahendi, Iniendi, Faciendi et Consummandi, pro Nobis et hæredibus nostris Boemiæ Regibus, Amicitias, Uniones, et Ligas

<sup>49</sup> The later date than that first mentioned would seem to imply that the commissioners did not meet as early as intended, but such delay may be explained by many another similar one of the time.

<sup>50</sup> RYMER, vii, 282: "*Litera Procuratoria Annæ Filie Caroli Imperatoris et Regis Boemiæ, ad Tractandum de Matrimonio contrahendo*;" it is dated "x kalend. Februarii."

<sup>51</sup> RYMER, vii, 283: "*Commissio Imperatoris ad Tractandum de Amicitia et de Liga contra Scismaticos*." It was dated at Nuremberg, and it may be seen to be carefully guarded from any other intent than the support of the pope



Fratrernes, et etiam Colligantias, Statum et Honorem Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini Urbani Papæ Sexti, concernentes ad Exterminium Scismaticorum nunc Vigentium et Rebellium, præsentium et futurorum ipsius Domini, Urbani Papæ prædicti, et Successorum suorum Canonice intrantium, et per Collegium Cardinalium, dicto Domino Urbano adhærens eligendorum, cum Serenissimo Principe, Domino Ricardo Rege Angliæ Illustri, Fratre nostro carissimo pro se, et suis Hæredibus Angliæ Regibus, etc.

The negotiations in Flanders being successful and confirmed in Bohemia and England, on March 29, 1381, power was given to Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, Hugo Segrave, and Albert de Vere for concluding the treaty on the part of England.<sup>52</sup> For the same purpose the Duke of Tetschen and his colleagues were received in England May 1, 1381, and the treaty of marriage and alliance was signed on the second of that month.<sup>53</sup> This document consists of first, the treaty itself, *Tractatus de Matrimonio Regis cum Anna Sorore Imperatoris*; next a

<sup>52</sup> This paper occurs in Rymer only at vii, 294, with other papers of the treaty signed in duplicate for the rulers of the two kingdoms. It is not in its chronological place. One point in the document is worthy of note as perhaps implying England's great interest in the alliance. While in the commission of Dec. 26, 1380, the points to be considered by the contracting parties are first the marriage, and second the alliance, they are here reversed and the subject of the alliance considerably extended.

<sup>53</sup> RYMER, vii, 290-1.

recitation of the powers of the ambassadors, *Tenores vero Procuratoriorum, de quibus superius fit mentio, sequuntur sub hac Forma*. The latter are first from Wenceslaus himself as to the alliance, then Anne assenting to the negotiations; Wenceslaus again as to the marriage of his sister; Elizabeth, mother of Anne, giving her consent; and finally Richard assenting and appointing his ambassadors. These documents fill five and a half of Rymer's folio pages.

Even these are not all the records connected with this royal marriage alliance. Several others fill subsequent pages of Rymer.<sup>54</sup> First is an *Obligatio Imperatoris pro 20 Millibus Florenorum*, for the sum to be applied on the expenses in connection with the negotiations for the marriage; the *Obligatio Ambassiatorum* [sic] *de Summa Regi Romanorum mutuata*; *De Obligatione facta Regi Romanorum*, by which Richard agreed to loan (mutuare) Wenceslaus 80,000 florins when Anne was safely conducted to Calais; a document *De quietantia certarum summarum super Traductione Annæ, Sororis Imperatoris*, in satisfaction of the former pledge of the emperor as to the 20,000 florins;<sup>55</sup> and

<sup>54</sup> RYMER, vii, 295f.

<sup>55</sup> The exact agreement was that the emperor Wenceslaus should advance 20,000 florins for the expenses of the negotiations and the journey of Anne; that, on her safe reception in England, he should receive a loan of 80,000 florins, 20,000 of which should not be returned as recompensing him for the expenses incurred. Still further, on receiving the Duke of

finally a further paper *De Potestate tractandi cum Principibus Alemannie, super Ligis*, this last dated the tenth of May.

These numerous documents give some idea of the elaborate negotiations of Richard and his advisers with the king of Bohemia and emperor of the Romans. Yet there is further evidence of the extent to which the business was carried. In the first place, the pope had been influential in bringing England and Bohemia together, largely, it is very clear, for the support which Urban VI thus obtained against his rival Clement VII. As already noted,<sup>66</sup> the cardinal of Ravenna had been in England a considerable time in direct representation of the pope. The result was that the alliance was accompanied with even more intimate relations of England and the papacy. These relations are indicated by a series of documents which show how fully

Tetschen in May, 1381, Richard at once settled upon him 500 marks sterling for the term of his natural life. This was, in the language of the decree, "de Gratia nostra speciali, et pro eo quod, Magnificum Virum, Præmislauum Ducem Teschinensem penes Nos et de Concilio nostro retinuimus, ad Terminum vitæ suæ moraturum, ac etiam pro bono Servizio suo Nobis, impenso et in futurum impendendo." Similar amounts were also granted to Petrus de Wartemberg and Conrad Crayer, while sums of 500 gold florins were given to Borzewey de Swyner, 200 each to Sifridus Foster and Conrad di Ridberg, and fifty marks sterling to Lupoldus de Crayer, son of Conrad. Rymer, vii, 238; I have preserved the spelling of the names as they appear in the decree.

<sup>66</sup> See p. 218.

the pope and his artful legate<sup>57</sup> looked to their own interests. First is one giving the papal legate certain substantial rewards, *De Fructibus Decanatus Eborum liberandis Cardinali Ravennas*, dated May 3, 1381, the day after the

<sup>57</sup> The extent of Cardinal de Prata's personal rewards from his sojourn in England may be best inferred from the words of the *Chronicon Angliæ*, (Rolls Series 64, 283): "Pileus, tituli Sanctæ Praxedis, presbyter cardinalis, per istud tempus venit in Angliam. . . . et regem Anglorum, et regnum de inestimabile summa pecuniæ vacuaturus. Nam, ut asseruit, potestatem afferens inauditam, in brevi totum regnum ad ipsum confluere fecit pro diversis gratiis impetrandis. Revera diversa diversis beneficia contulit; indulgentias quas dominus papa concedere solummodo consuevit, et ipse concessit; biennales, triennales, confessionales literas quibuslibet solventibus gratanter indulsit. Ad capellatum domini papæ tam possessionatos quam mendicantes admisit, nec aurum eorum respuit, qui notarii publici effici precabantur. Altaria quoque portatilia nulli pecuniam offerenti negavit. Nec quadraginta libras, cum aliis donis Cisterciensium, repulit, quin gratiose concederet eis licentiam generalem vescendi carnibus extra monasterium indifferenter, ut in monasterio edere consueverunt. Excommunicatis gratiam absolutionis impendit. Vota perigrinationis ad Apostolarum limina, ad Terram Sanctam, ad Sanctum Jacobum, non prius remisit, quam tantam pecuniam recepisset, quantam, juxta veram æstimationem, in eisdem perigrinationibus expendere debuissent. Et ut cuncta concludam brevibus, nihil omnino petendum erat, quod non censuit, intercedente pecunia, concedendum. Interrogatus autem in qua potestate hæc faceret, cum summa indignatione respondit, se Romæ, si scire vellent ejus potestatem, omnibus responsurum. Jamque adeo referti erant argento ejus sacculi, ut advenientibus ejus ministri respondere dedignerentur, nisi aurum efferent, dicentes, 'Afferte nobis aurum; argento namque vestro pleni sumus.' Recessurus autem,

signing of the treaty of marriage.<sup>58</sup> Then come the documents *De Procedendo contra Scismaticos*, and *De Potestate Tractandi cum Papa, de Ligis*, both on May 5, and both appointing Sir John Hawkwood, Nicholas Dagworth, and Walter Skirlawe to negotiate with the pope.<sup>59</sup> These are followed by papal bulls from Urban VI to Richard, dated Oct. 27, 1380, and March 18, 1381, and recorded on May 6. Then come the pecuniary rewards to the pope in a decree, *De Fructibus Archidiaconatum et Præbendarum*,

aurum post se nequaquam relinquere voluit; sed secum super summarios deferri fecit, ad tantam quidem summam, quantum nunquam Anglia in taxa vel tallagio semel pendere consuevit." Adam of Usk (*Chronicon*, p. 2-3) is no less severe: "Ineundo cardinalis iste, false se fingens legatum a latere esse ac potestatem pape habere, vices papales tunc exercuit; me inter cetera notarium tunc, licet inutiliter, in domo fratrum predicacionis Londonie, ubi tunc morabitur, creavit. Infinitam pecuniam sic collegit, et ab Anglia cum eadem pecunia, eodem tractatu matrimonii expedito, ad sui recessit dampnationem; credens tamen, licet in vanum, facta sua hujusmodi per papam ratificari." Chaucer may well have had this prelate in mind when pointing some of his satire against the plundering clergy, as in the picture of the Pardoner, 'His walet. . . . Bretful of pardoun come from Rome al hoot.'

<sup>58</sup> RYMER, vii, 296. Also the archdeaconate of Durham on July 11, 1381; Rymer, vii, 320.

<sup>59</sup> It will be remembered, from the discussion of the dates of the incidents in *The Knight's Tale*, that this May 5, 1381, was Sunday. Numerous other important acts of the year are dated on Sunday, as those of June 23 and 30 in connection with the Peasant Revolt, and that for conducting Anne to the king's presence, Dec. 1. The ratification of the treaty of alliance by Wenceslaus was also on a Sunday, Sept. 1.

*per Cardinales Rebelles occupatorum, Papæ Concessis*, May 8. Finally, there is associated with these a delegation of power to Sir John Hawkwood, Nicholas Dagworth, and Walter Skirlawe, *De Potestate Tractandi cum Ducibus et Dominis de Partibus Italiæ super Ligis et Amicitiiis*. The alliance of England, that is, though usually thought of as with Bohemia only, included the papal states and Italy. These show the relations of both alliances to the support of the pope. As already noted (p. 208) it is possible that these further treaties with the papal states and Italy account for Chaucer's use of the plural 'contrees' in l. 2973. Except for France and Spain, England was now united with most of the countries of western Europe in the support of Urban, though more especially with Bohemia by reason of the marriage alliance.

The treaty with the king of Bohemia, signed by commissioners of the two countries on May 2, 1381, was formally ratified by Wenceslaus at Prague on Sept. 1 of that year. A letter to that effect is given in Rymer vii, 331, under the caption *Ligarum, cum Rege, Ratificatio Imperatoris*. This has bearing on one point connected with the coming of Anne to England. It is often said that she was to have been received before Michaelmas (Sept. 29), 1381, and that she was delayed by the Rebellion of Wat

Tyler.<sup>60</sup> This idea is not fully justified by the original treaty, which specifies "circa Festum Sancti Michaelis proximo futurum" as the time when Anne should be brought "in Regnum nostrum Angliæ, vel saltem ad villam nostram Calesii, per prædictos Amicos et Parentes ipsius, et eorum expensis."<sup>61</sup> Besides, the late ratification of the treaty by Wenceslaus also makes such a supposition unlikely, if not impossible. Indeed, safe conduct was not given to one of Anne's attendants, John Eutermynel de Luk, until Oct. 28.<sup>62</sup> The commissioners to receive the princess were also not appointed until Dec. 1.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, Froissart tells us that Anne was detained in Brussels "more than the space of a month" for fear of Norman pirates, rather than because of the troubles in England, of which in this place he gives no hint.<sup>64</sup> It is

<sup>60</sup> BILDERBECK, *Selections from Chaucer's Minor Poems*, p. 72. TATLOCK, *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 42.

<sup>61</sup> RYMER, vii, 301; cf. the *Obligatio Imperatoris pro 80 Millibus Florenorum*.

<sup>62</sup> RYMER, vii, 335, *Pro comitiva Annæ futuræ Consortis Regis*.

<sup>63</sup> RYMER, vii, 336, *De Domina Anna, Regina Futura, ad Præsentiam Regis ducenda*.

<sup>64</sup> *Chronicles*, ii, ch. 86; Johnes, i, 681: "The Lady Anne of Bohemia remained with her uncle and aunt at Brussels upwards of a month. She was afraid of moving, for she had been informed there were twelve large armed vessels, full of Normans, on the sea between Calais and Holland, that seized and pillaged all that fell into their hands, and it was indifferent to them who they were. The report was current

true that, in another passage,<sup>66</sup> he sums up all the reasons for delay as follows: "For the damsel was young, and the councils of each party had many things to arrange; add to this there shortly afterward happened in England great misery and great tribulation." The latter clause probably refers to the Peasant Revolt. Yet the delay seems fully accounted for in other ways, and in any case that Revolt seems to have been but one of several causes tending to put off the marriage.

The account of this alliance has been given at length to show, from the time consumed in the negotiations and the number of details and documents, how important it must have seemed to the people of the fourteenth century. In the first flush of its accomplishment, it must have made a particularly strong impression on the English court and the English people. No such far-reaching treaty had been made in that generation. By it the traditional ally of France had been brought over to the English side, and great results were expected in the French war. Speaking of the attempts to find Richard a suitable bride, C. Oman says:

that they cruised in those seas waiting for the coming of this lady; and that the king of France and his council were desirous of carrying her off, in order to break the match, for they were very uneasy at this alliance of the Germans with the English. . . . On account of these suspicions and fears, the young lady remained in Brussels one whole month.

<sup>66</sup> See the quotation on p. 227.



But a more splendid alliance was finally concluded with the sister of the monarch who held the highest titular dignity in Christendom, Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia and emperor-elect. . . . A connection with him was hailed with joy by the whole realm.<sup>66</sup>

In his article on Richard II in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, J. Tout says:

But the refusal of Wenceslaus of Bohemia, the new king of the Romans, to follow his relative and traditional ally, the King of France, in his support of Clement placed a much more brilliant match within Richard's reach. The opportunity of drawing central Europe into his alliance against France was not to be missed, and Richard knew Charles V to be seeking the hand of Wenceslaus's sister Anne for his own son (Valois, i, 300; Usk, p. 31). Urban used all his influence in Richard's favour.<sup>67</sup>

Besides, we have the authority of Froissart that the alliance was seriously regarded by Eng-

<sup>66</sup> *Political History of England*, iv, 66.

<sup>67</sup> If I may hazard an opinion, after reading all the accessible documents rather carefully, the forms of both the above statements give a wrong idea of the initiative in the alliance. John of Gaunt and the council of the king may have hoped for great assistance from it, but we can now see that the main mover in the whole procedure was the pope. Moreover, the pope and Wenceslaus were the only ones greatly benefited by the alliance. The former gained support for his divided kingdom, the latter a vast sum for his personal pleasures. Though Anne made a good queen and was passionately loved by Richard, England was mainly a pawn in the great game of international politics.

land's great rival. We have already noted the gravity with which the dying Charles V of France sensed the situation.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, speaking of the Norman ships in the channel when Anne was waiting in Brussels to go over to England, Froissart says:

The report was current that they cruised in those seas, waiting for the coming of this lady; and that the king of France and his council were desirous of carrying her off, in order to break the match, *for they were very anxious at this alliance of the Germans and the English.*<sup>69</sup>

Everything shows that this English-German league made a profound impression in Europe as a whole.

The importance of such a foreign alliance may well explain why it was in Chaucer's mind when, in writing the *Palamon and Arcite*, he came to the marriage of Palamon and Emily, an almost royal union between representatives of two independent states. The likeness of the situation may easily have impressed him strongly, and the direct reference to things English have slipped into the narrative of things fictitious, to which the poet was giving a new reality in his verse. Such influence of things actual would have been especially natural during the last

<sup>68</sup>See p. 220.

<sup>69</sup>CHAMBERLAYNE, in the dissertation already referred to, undertakes to discredit this whole passage in Froissart, but it seems to me on insufficient evidence.

part of 1381, or the first part of 1382. As we have seen, the Duke of Tetschen and his fellow commissioners arrived the first of May, 1381, though the treaty was not ratified until Sept. 1, and Anne did not actually come to England until after the middle of December. Then came the royal wedding, for which parliament was halted in its deliberations, to assemble again on Jan. 27. If Professor Lowes is correct in his explanation of "the tempest at hir hoom cominge,"<sup>70</sup> and his suggestion in the same paper that "the feste that was at hir weddyng" may be an allusion to the feasting at Anne's marriage, the further reference of the line,

"To have with certein contrees alliaunce"

would seem to confirm such a date, if not to establish it with practical certainty.

There is perhaps even more confirmation of the point in the reference of the lines preceding those relating to an alliance:

"Thanne semed me ther was a parlement  
At Athenes upon certein poynts and caas."

These lines are also based on nothing in the original *Teseide*, but again have an unmistakable parallel in the events of the time in England. "Thanne semed me" is certainly Chaucer's own remark of the original *Palamon and Arcite*, unchanged when the story was given to the Knight of *The Canterbury Tales*. The 'parle-

<sup>70</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xix, 240 f.

ment' may as easily have been that which sat from Nov. 13, 1381, for exactly a month, when it was adjourned for the holidays, the coming of the new queen, the marriage, and the festivities attending them. Owing to the latter events its sessions were not resumed until Jan. 27, much to the dislike of its members, we are told. It continued to sit until Feb. 25, and in both sessions had before it many weighty "poynts and caas" to be settled. The Peasant Revolt had made necessary various acts, as of indemnity for those who had put rebels to death without trial; annulment of the charters of freedom to villeins which the young king had granted to pacify the rebels; a general amnesty at the suggestion of Anne;<sup>71</sup> a change in the king's household, and the settlement of a quarrel between John of Gaunt and the Earl of Northumberland.<sup>72</sup> To this busy parliament, one which must have made a deep impression at the time, Richard applied for a grant of money because of his approaching

<sup>71</sup> There are two of these in Rymer (vii, 337, 345), both addressed to the Count of Kent. The first is entitled *De Generali Pardonatione, ad Requisitionem Annæ futuræ Consortis Regis concessa, proclamanda*, and is dated Dec. 13, 1381; the second *De Pardonationibus, ad Requisitionem Annæ Reginæ concessis, proclamandis*, dated Feb. 14, 1382 (N. S.). The first refers with some warmth to the 'detestable insurrection' (*detestabile insurrectione, nuper facta*).

<sup>72</sup> *Chronicon Angliæ*, p. 328; Oman, *Pol. Hist. of Eng.*, iv, 62-3.

marriage with Anne.<sup>7</sup> While the treaty of alliance had already been entered into, the request for money would certainly have brought discussion of the whole matter. Not unlikely, supporters of the measure made much of the great alliance just formed, and the expected advantage to England. Such, at any rate, would fully account for the allusion by Chaucer. Both parts of the reference, therefore, would point to the year 1381, more especially the latter part when the alliance was to be consummated by the royal marriage.

It may be argued that the last line of the allusion,

“And have fully of Thebans obeissaunce,”

interferes with the suggested interpretation. To this it may be said that, except for the one word “Thebans,” this line is equally applicable to the circumstances of the time. Like ‘Athenes’ in line 2971, the word was necessary to the story, even if Chaucer intended an indirect reference to English affairs. Beyond this, the idea is equally foreign to the *Teseide*, and equally appropriate to English conditions. The quotation from Froissart on p. 208 is full proof that England wished such an alliance as would

<sup>7</sup> *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iii, p. 104a. The entry is in a paragraph relating what was done on Friday, Dec. 13, and as Parliament also adjourned on that day for the holidays, it is clear that the application could not have been later.

assist her in her long-standing quarrel with France. Especially John of Gaunt, the chief figure in the royal family, may well have desired an ally against France and Spain, now joined against his claim to the Spanish throne.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps this was the reason also, why the offer of Bernabò Visconti's daughter with a 'vast amount of gold'<sup>75</sup> had been rejected. At least an active ally was felt to be important, and in the league with Wenceslaus the rulers of England thought they had secured such powerful aid against their enemies. To mention, therefore, the 'obeissance' expected of Germany would doubtless be in keeping with what Chaucer was hearing on every hand.

It is not necessary for our purpose to point out that this great alliance finally proved of little advantage to England. Although the emperor Wenceslaus was willing to enter into an agreement against schismatics and for the support of Urban against Clement, he never seems to have had any intention of actively opposing the political enemies of England, especially France, to which he was bound by bonds of blood and friendship. This of course, did not become known until some time after Wenceslaus had consented to give his sister to Richard II for the considerable sum of 80,000

<sup>74</sup> Cf. J. Armitage-Smith's *John of Gaunt*, p. 280f.

<sup>75</sup> "Cum inæstimabile auri summa," *Chronicon Angliæ*, 331.

florins. Exactly when that sum was paid I do not now know,<sup>76</sup> but presumably it was at least before the Duke of Tetschen left England in August, 1382.<sup>77</sup> Meanwhile England continued her efforts to make a further treaty of league and friendship with the emperor, and a further commission was appointed.<sup>78</sup> The specific purpose of this league is clearly outlined in the instructions. It was to be established,

"Specialiter, in specialibus, contra Karolum Modernum occupatorem Regni Franciæ, Ludowicum Comitem Valesii ipsius Germanum, Ludowicum Andegavensem, Johannem Buturicensem, et Philippum Burgundiæ, Duces, prætensores, ipsius Karoli Patruos, necnon contra Johannem olim nominantem se Regem Castellæ et Legionis, adhuc Occupatorem dicti Regni Castellæ et Legionis, licet per Ecclesiam depositum et damnatum, et Robertum gerentem se pro Rege Scotiæ, eorumque Hæredes, Valitores et Fautores."<sup>79</sup>

The commissioners probably accompanied the Duke of Tetschen as he returned to Bohemia, but in any case their efforts were unavailing. Wenceslaus was more interested in his ease and personal pleasure than in fighting Richard's battles. He was willing only that some very

<sup>76</sup> It was to have been within fifteen days after Anne's arrival (infra quindecim dies); Rymer, vii, 301.

<sup>77</sup> Safe conduct was given him by the council of the realm on August 12; Rymer, vii, 364.

<sup>78</sup> RYMER, vii, 364; *De Tractando cum Rege Romanorum et Boemiæ super Ligis et Amicitiiis*, dated Aug. 16, 1382.

<sup>79</sup> RYMER, vii, 365.

mild agreement should be entered into. Such an agreement between the two kings may have been made. At least in March, 1383,<sup>80</sup> a proclamation of Richard speaks of the 'friendship and constancy' (*sinceri amoris dulcedinem et intimæ dilectionis constantiam*) between Wenceslaus and himself, which 'are known to thrive and to have thriven' (*vigere ac etiam viguisse noscuntur*) "longis retroactis temporibus ac etiam ex nova pridem affinitate contracta." The proclamation goes on to speak of 'certain treaties, confederations or compacts we have entered into' (*quasdam ligas, confederationes, sive pacta duximus inienda*), and adds that we shall be now and in future true, loyal, and perfect brothers and friends (*quod exnunc et in antea, temporibus perpetuis affuturis, veri, legales, ac perfecti fratres erimus et amici*). As this was far from an offensive and defensive alliance we may perhaps surmise it was merely intended to strengthen the hopes of that crusade against the schismatic pope, Clement VII, which Urban VI had proclaimed, and for which England sent to Flanders a disastrous expedition under the fighting Bishop of Norwich.

Yet the failure of the alliance of England and Bohemia, at least so far as assisting England against her enemies, could not be foreseen in the glamor of its first publication. Besides, Chaucer would be only too likely to reflect the

<sup>80</sup> RYMER, vii, 382.



optimism of the court circle, when he made allusion to it in his new poem. The ultimate failure of the league, therefore, is no bar to the interpretation of the passage under discussion.

The question may naturally arise whether, if these allusions bear so closely upon the events of the time, there may not be other passages which relate to similar circumstances. On the other hand, the value of such allusions is in their wholly incidental character, their almost unconscious inclusion in the author's work. We should not expect many such, in any poem not distinctly allegorical. Yet an examination of other parts of *The Knight's Tale* with this in view has revealed one slight allusion that, in connection with the more significant passage above, may have relation to the year 1381. It will be remembered that Palamon and Arcite are said to be,

"of the blood royal  
Of Thebes, and of sustren two y-born" (ll. 1018-9).

This royal relationship is again referred to in Arcite's speech, ll. 1545-51:

"Allas, y-broght is to confusioun  
The blood royal of Cadme and Amphioun;  
Of Cadmus, which that was the firste man  
That Thebes bulde, or first the toun began,  
And of the citee first was crowned king,  
Of his lineage am I, and his of-spring  
By verray ligne, as of the stok royal."

Further than this the relation of the brothers to royalty is not explained by Chaucer, nor, so far as I find, in the *Teseide*. Yet when praising Palamon to Emily in l. 3084 Theseus makes the very distinctive statement,

“He is a kinges brother sone, pardee.”

This quite exact description of relationship is in a passage to which there is no counterpart in the *Teseide*, according to the comparison made by Mr. H. S. Ward.<sup>81</sup> As we have been already told by Chaucer that the two lovers are children of two sisters (l. 1019), we must now assume that they are, at the same time, sons of two brothers. This is no impossible condition, of course, but it seems strange that, if it were of importance enough to chronicle, it should not have been mentioned in the first, or an early reference to their relationship. Moreover, though the ‘blood royal’ has been mentioned, we are nowhere told that either is a king’s son, except in the general sense of lines 1545-50. If this were a possibility in Chaucer’s mind, why should he not have made the praise of Palamon greater by calling him a king’s son at once? On the contrary, we are now virtually informed that Arcite’s father was a king, and Palamon’s was not. This is the more

<sup>81</sup> See the side notes to the Six-text edition of *The Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer Society Publ., Cambridge and Lansdowne MSS., and the reprints of the latter.

surprising, also, since the passage is apparently one of praise for Palamon, though really detracting from the rank of the hero, as compared with that of his dead cousin. All things considered, therefore, the expression warrants some explanation, and a not unnatural one may be found in another indirect allusion to the young king.

We have seen how Chaucer associated the marriage of Palamon and Emily with that of Richard and Anne, at least so far as to refer to circumstances of the latter's coming to England in lines 2967f. The situation perhaps had another parallel in his mind when he made Theseus address Emily as 'suster' in line 3075, and Chaucer refer to her as such in lines 1833 and 2818. Theseus thus stands in the same relation to her as did the emperor Wenceslaus to the future wife of Richard. Even if this element in the parallelism of situation did not influence the poet, he had still used it sufficiently so that, in praising the bridegroom Palamon, he may easily have turned in thought to the royal Richard, and used language exactly applicable to him. Not a king's son himself, Richard was the son of a brother of one who, for a decade, had been accepted by the English as the rightful king of Spain. The young Richard II was actually, therefore, that which it would seem

Palamon could scarcely have been, a 'kinges brother sone.'<sup>32</sup>

This relationship, so understood of Richard, is one which we might easily miss. We give little attention to the claim of John of Gaunt to the throne of Spain, because we know how completely he failed to make it good.<sup>33</sup> It is needless to say that the England of Richard's time thought differently. Not only was John of Gaunt the richest and most powerful noble, but he was by all odds the greatest figure in England during the last years of Edward the Third's reign and most of Richard's. His claim to the throne of Spain was fully allowed. He was regularly called King of Castile in the royal degrees and commissions of the time.<sup>34</sup> There was every reason, therefore, why an English poet of the last quarter of the fourteenth century should have thought it an honor to

<sup>32</sup> Although making no mention of this passage or possible allusion to Richard II in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, Höfler does call special attention to just this peculiarity of the situation: "Es war eineschwerwiegende Thatsache: Richards Oheime waren Königsöhne, aber nicht er, der König." *Anna von Luxemburg*, p. 121.

<sup>33</sup> That is, in his own case. But by the treaty of 1388 with Juan I of Castile, John of Gaunt's daughter Katherine married the Infante Enrique, and as his wife became queen of Castile in 1390. The arrangement was a virtual acknowledgment of John of Gaunt's claim to the throne, at least in the person of his heir.

<sup>34</sup> See the documents in Rymer's *Fœdera* after 1371. In these he is regularly called John, King of Castile, or Castile and Leon, before he is named Duke of Lancaster.

speak of him as king. Moreover, to recognize this relation was real praise to the young Richard. He was but a boy of fourteen or fifteen. Except for his dramatic appearance before the revolting peasants in the summer of 1381, he had been no real influence in active affairs. He was still to remain in leading strings for five years more. Though a king in name, he was still best known to his people as son of the Black Prince, and nephew of his royal uncle of Lancaster. Besides, to refer to him as 'kinges brother sone' was not only true to the facts, but at the same time a delicate compliment to the powerful duke.

Here, then, is another allusion which could scarcely refer to a time much later than Richard's marriage in January, 1382, and would more likely be thought of by the poet when the marriage was in every one's mind. It would still further strengthen the suggestion that *The Knight's Tale* was written about the time of Anne's coming to England, or at least not long after the marriage.<sup>85</sup>

\* One might almost question whether the tale, to which Chaucer gives the title 'Palamon and Emelye' in the next to the last line, may not have been one of his contributions to the court festivities at the marriage of Richard and Anne. At least the lines

"Betwixen hem was maad anon the bond  
That highte matrimoigne or mariage,  
By al the conseil and the baronage,"

based only in a general way upon the *Teseide*, would also

To sum up the discussion in relation to the dating of *The Knight's Tale*. If the reference in the line,

"To have with certein contrees alliaunce,"

can be applied to the alliance of England and Bohemia, or to that and the other alliances connected with it, as I think has been sufficiently shown to be in the highest degree probable, the date of the poem must have been after May 1, 1381, and more probably after September 1, when the alliance was ratified by the king of Bohemia. If, too, the allusion,

"Thanne semed me ther was a parlement  
At Athenes, upon certein poynts and caas,"

refers to the parliament of which Richard asked a grant of money, on account of his approaching marriage with Anne of Bohemia, the date of this part of *The Knight's Tale* must be between November 13, 1381, and February 27, 1381-2.

describe English conditions. Such a supposition as to the use of the *Tale* might give special point to the supplication, placed in the present tense as if more than a device for vividness,

"And God, that al this wyden world hath wrought,  
Sende him his love, that hath it dere aboght."

May there not have been, even here, some lurking suggestion of the long series of negotiations, and the long waiting, since the marriage with Anne had been first proposed? Of course this latter point should not be pressed, and would be of no value without the more important lines already noted.

The latter part of this time, or more especially that after December 18, would exactly suit the time of the allusion in the line,

"And of the tempest at hir hoom cominge,

if Professor Lowes is right in referring that line to the storm, or tidal disturbance at Anne's arrival in December. If, as he also thinks, the line immediately preceding,

"And of the feste that was at hir weddyng,"

may refer to the feast at the marriage of Richard and Anne, the time need not be carried forward beyond the latter part of January, or the month of February. There is, also, perhaps, some confirmation of the date in the description of Palamon in language that would be certainly true of Richard,

"He is a kinges brother sone, pardee."

In other words, all these allusions would fall within the current year 1381, as the year was then reckoned. They would also help to confirm the apparent reference in another part of the poem to May of that year, as shown to be possible by Professor Skeat many years ago.

Perhaps, from the discussion, it will not seem wrong to go one step further. Even if the computation of Professor Skeat is not accepted, or there be hesitancy in agreeing with the conclusions of Professor Lowes, the more signifi-

cant allusion to the great English-German alliance and the parliament in which it was surely discussed is sufficient to establish the last part of 1381, or the first months of 1382, as the certain date for the composition of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*.



## OLD ENGLISH MODIFICATION OF TEUTONIC RACIAL CONCEPTIONS

BY CHRISTABEL F. FISKE, PH. D.

It is difficult for an Anglo-Saxon to deal for any length of time with our racial epic, *Beowulf*, without becoming greatly interested in the indications it contains of certain conceptions common to the whole ancient Teutonic race, conceptions which, transplanted through Low German invasion to the British Isles, underwent very definite development or modification. I shall, in this brief study, endeavor to trace as far as the year 1066 the evolution of some of these conceptions as they flourished on English soil.

Three lines of tendency, marking respectively the development of the political, the scientific, the religious ideas, will claim our attention. The first of these tendencies manifests itself in distinct indications in *Beowulf* of the attitude toward two dependent classes, women and criminals. In regard to both, the evolution of sentiment between 449 and 1066 is extremely interesting.

Women are mentioned in *Beowulf* about fif-

teen times. Three references are merely general and casual.<sup>1</sup> Hildeburh<sup>2</sup> and the widow of Beowulf<sup>3</sup> stand strikingly before us, chief wailing figures in the sorrowful groups mourning at roaring funeral-pyres the fall of the mighty dead. We have, also, Hygd drawn as the graceful, lavish young mistress of Hygelac's castle.<sup>4</sup> Wealtheow, Hrothgar's queen, a gracious, noble figure, moves gold-adorned among the warriors at the feast.<sup>5</sup> Her attitude is free and proud, and she openly advises her royal husband. As in the funeral ceremonies, so here her innate force has given woman a quasi-official position. Wealtheow it is who, advancing to the centre of the hall, formally recognizes Beowulf as champion of her people, and receives his oath of fidelity.<sup>6</sup> She it is who rewards him for his service with the wonderful necklace, most princely of state treasures.<sup>7</sup>

The innate force of the Teutonic woman rendered her conspicuous not only in social ceremonies and feasts. While her lord was at war she performed as important economic functions as did the medieval woman at the time of the Crusades. Upon her devolved the

<sup>1</sup> *Beo.*, 993, 941, 1282, 1283.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1114.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 3150.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1926-1931.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 612, 619, 1177-1180.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 628.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1216.

ultimate responsibility for all important decisions connected with home-affairs. We see this plainly in the case of Hygd,<sup>8</sup> who, when her lord was defeated and killed, at once offered to Beowulf the kingship, passing over, for political reasons, her own son.<sup>9</sup> Both Hygd, Wealtheow, and their humbler sisters superintended or performed the spinning and weaving, directed the agricultural labors of the estate,<sup>10</sup> and furnished the mainspring upon which depended the orderly ongoing of the family fortunes at home. Yet another circumstance contributed to dignify the position of Teutonic woman. From earliest times there was attached to her a certain sacred quality springing from universal belief in her faculty for prophecy, divination, and religious ecstasy.<sup>11</sup> So highly did the Germans value this supposed spiritual endowment that their enemies early learned to demand, as most precious hostages, girls instead of boys.<sup>12</sup> We get a vivid impression of this traditional view in the weird glimpse of Beowulf's widow, who, as the funeral flames rose round her dead hero, burst into a wailing prophecy of personal and tribal calamity.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 2369-2372.

<sup>9</sup> H. Munro Chadwick: *The Origin of the English Nation*, p. 163.

<sup>10</sup> Lippert: *Die Religion d. europ. Culturvölker*, p. 36, cited by Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 129.

<sup>11</sup> Tacitus: *Germania*, ch. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Tacitus: *Germania*, ch. 8; Suetonius, *Augustus*, ch. 21.

<sup>13</sup> *Beo.*, 3150-3156.

But though thus distinguished by a certain social prominence due to her innate capacity for executive achievement and for passionate emotion, we still have hints in *Beowulf* of her complete legal dependence. We see one maiden given in marriage to the heir of a hostile clan in vain endeavor to secure peaceful relations,<sup>14</sup> while another goes, along with a hundred thousand pieces' worth of land, and linked rings, as a reward for victorious valor.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, in the light of these instances, the beautiful epithet *freoðu-webbe*,<sup>16</sup> "peace-weaver," applied to her at various times, is, in one aspect, only indicative of her absolute political dependence.

We have said that there occur in *Beowulf* two distinct instances of the *mægth*'s, or clan's, dealing with its daughters. Of the close bond existing between various members of the *mægth* we have an interesting glimpse, in *Beowulf*, through Wiglaf's passionate denunciation of Beowulf's coward-thanes, whose kinsmen, as well as they themselves, must suffer outlawry.<sup>17</sup> Even the child in the cradle, we learn from one of Cnut's laws, was, in primitive times, responsible along with the whole *mægth* for the crime of one of its kinsmen.<sup>18</sup> And what was the relation of

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 2021 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 2994-2999.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 1942.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 2884-2891.

<sup>18</sup> Ll. Cnut. 77, p. 180, Thorpe; Schmid, 312, 76, §2, cited by Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 168.

the woman to this closely-organized group of kindred? The fundamental fact is that out of this group she never passed even on her marriage. Her own *mægth* merely handed over the guardianship of the wife to her husband, maintaining, however, a close watch of the husband in order to interfere, if necessary, in the wife's interest. If a woman committed a crime, it was her *mægth* that paid the *wergeld*; if she was killed, the *wergeld* was paid to her *mægth* and not to her husband.<sup>19</sup> In fact, she owed to her *mægth*, as to her supreme guardian, a whole set of legal and social obligations. This conception of family-relationship demonstrates emphatically the Teutons' keen sense of the precedence of the blood-bonds to which one is born over the ties created by marriage. We get ample evidence of the vivid realization by the women themselves of the imperious nature of these blood-bonds. In Scandinavian saga, we see Gudrun blunted even in her maternal instinct by her passionate devotion to her brothers; and in *Beowulf* when, after the tragic Finn-episode, Hildeburh<sup>20</sup> is borne back to her own people, it is not as a wretched victim of parental tyranny, but as a proud daughter of the house,

<sup>19</sup> Ll. Hen. 75, 8; 70, 12. Thorpe, pp. 253, 250; cited by Ernest Young: "The Anglo-Saxon Family Law." (In *Essays on Anglo-Saxon Law*, by Henry Adams and others, pp. 123-4.)

<sup>20</sup> *Beo.*, 1155-1157.

whose sympathies are with her slaughtered kinsmen, who rejoices in the vengeance visited upon her husband, and who returns triumphant in the final vindication of the family honor. If Hildeburh returned triumphant, however, she yet returned the chattel and slave of her kindred, to be disposed of again in marriage as they saw fit. And what were her rights there in the home-clan? Her position is indicated by the following significant facts. She might neither inherit nor own land;<sup>21</sup> she was sold to her husband irrespective of her own will;<sup>22</sup> she might be sold by her father into a sort of mitigated serfdom;<sup>23</sup> only by means of a representative could she appear in court.<sup>24</sup>

To summarize briefly, then, the position of women as it appears in our old epic: They appear to have had the social prominence and dignity which have always more or less marked woman in Anglo-Saxon communities, joined to a complete legal dependence from which they are not even yet completely emancipated. That is, the social deference that marks the attitude of the Anglo-Saxon man toward the

<sup>21</sup> Lex. Sal. 62, 6 apud Grimm, R. A. 407; cited by Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 131.

<sup>22</sup> Schmid, p. 8; cited by Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 152.

<sup>23</sup> Ll. Alfred.; 12. Thorpe, p. 21.

<sup>24</sup> Ernest Young: "The Anglo-Saxon Family Law." (In *Essays on Anglo-Saxon Law*, by Henry Adams and others, p. 163.)

other sex seems a survival of an ancient racial instinct which, among other branches of the Teutonic family, has been more or less obscured; while in common with her sex among all races, the Anglo-Saxon woman has had to fight her way toward any legal independence she has achieved. The first steps in this struggle it may be interesting to notice.

It is in regard to property rights that amelioration in woman's position first began to make itself felt. There is a runic inscription of ancient Norway speaking of male and *female* heirs.<sup>25</sup> As time went on in England, while the property-rights of unmarried women continued to be ignored, those of wives and widows gained more and more recognition, until finally those of the latter were guarded with quite modern care;<sup>26</sup> while the woman whose husband still lived could possess a storeroom, chest, and cupboard which he could only open by permission.<sup>27</sup> While these steps do not indicate much advance, since woman gained recognition in the eyes of the law only through economic con-

<sup>25</sup> Noreen's *Altisland. und Altnorw. Grammatik*, p. 189 f., and references there given; cited by Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 131.

<sup>26</sup> Ll. Æthelbert., s. 81, Thorpe, i, 25; Ll. Henrici Primi, s. xx, Thorpe, i, 574; Ll. Ripuar., tit. 37; cited by Thrupp, *The Anglo-Saxon Home*, p. 69.

<sup>27</sup> Ll. Cnut., Thorpe (ed. 1840), p. 180; the fact is mentioned by Thrupp, *The Anglo-Saxon Home*, p. 69, but the reference to the laws is not given.

siderations based on the conjugal relation, not by virtue of inherent right, yet they are of some significance in marking the evolution of the social sense.

The second point which we noted as an indication of the legal dependence of woman among the Teutons was her liability to be sold to whatever husband her clan dictated. This custom the Anglo-Saxons brought with them to England.<sup>28</sup> Slowly, however, sentiment changed and, five centuries later, under Cnut, we have this sentiment crystalized in the law which says that "neither woman nor maid shall be forced to marry one that is disliked by her, nor shall she be sold for money unless the bridegroom gives something of his own free accord."<sup>29</sup> Able at last to marry the man of her choice, she could also, toward the end of the Old English period, protect herself against the whim and inconstancy of her lord. Previously repudiated by him at will for trivial reasons, she now could legally resist and prevent such repudiation.<sup>30</sup> In such a case, as in all cases, she had, also, acquired another right, the lack of which was one of the marks we noted of her pre-

<sup>28</sup> Ll. Æthelbert., 82, 83, Thorpe (ed. 1840), p. 10. Ll. of Ine 31, Thorpe (ed. 1840), p. 53.

<sup>29</sup> Ll. Cnut., 75, Thorpe (ed. 1840), p. 179; Schmid, p. 312, No. 74; cited by Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 152.

<sup>30</sup> Arch. Theod. Canons, A. D. 673, s. 10, and Bede's *Eccles. Hist.*, Bk. iv. c. 5; cited by John Thrupp, *The Anglo-Saxon Home*, p. 64.



vious legal dependence—the right of suing in her own name in courts of justice.<sup>31</sup> She had in fact, by 1066, acquired in the eyes of the law a distinct degree of personality.

The second dependent class in the community of which we have distinct mention in *Beowulf* is the criminal class. In two places we have definite reference to primitive methods of punishment: first, punishment of murder, where Hrothgar is represented in one case as paying the wergeld to the tribe of the Wylfings for a man whom Beowulf's father had killed;<sup>32</sup> and, in another case, to Beowulf for Grendel's victims;<sup>33</sup> second, punishment for desertion, when the awful sentence of outlawry is passed on Beowulf's cowardly retainers.<sup>34</sup> By outlawry is meant, of course, the desperate condition in which the guilty man found himself when public sentiment had placed him outside the pale of humanity to be killed at sight like a beast by the injured man or his sympathizers. We have also mention of the arrogant spirit of Grendel, who "would not compound for tribute" nor "give the senators worthy compensation" for those he murdered.<sup>35</sup> We have here, then, two ancient methods of punishment dis-

<sup>31</sup> Thrupp, p. 71.

<sup>32</sup> *Beo.*, 470.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 1054.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 2884.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-6 (Earle's translation).

tinctly represented. As time passed on, how did evolving legal opinion mitigate or modify these methods?

The ancient Teutonic idea was that the responsibility for the safety of man's life or property lay wholly in his own hands; and also that the punishment of any infringement of his rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness lay wholly and justly in his own hands. According to modern ideas, the personality of the injured man is, in a sense, lost in the larger idea of the injured state, whose provisions for his safety have been frustrated by the criminal. The state, which has aimed to protect, alone has the right to punish. Thus, according to modern conception, the treatment of the criminal is entrusted to a person, or set of persons, who, though representing injured civic dignity, are nevertheless suffering directly neither in their persons nor in their property from the crime committed, and who, therefore, in the infliction of penalty, are actuated by no feelings of anger or of personal desire for revenge. There is a yet more modern sentiment than this, which makes the primary thought prompting the treatment of the convicted man, not that of his punishment, but that of his reformation into a healthful social factor. It may be interesting to see how far along the road towards modern penology the Anglo-Saxon had advanced by 1066.

We have said that, in primitive times, the pursuit of the criminal lay wholly in the hands of injured individuals. The first evolutionary step towards the conception of the king as the person transgressed against, was when the folk courts decided that the injured had a right to seize the offender, but that power to kill him must be granted by the court; or, if the man in a fit of uncontrollable anger killed his injurer before getting permission of the court, he must justify himself before the court, being most careful to publish his deed far and wide.<sup>36</sup> We read,

If anyone kill another in revenge or self-defense let him take to himself none of the goods of the dead, neither his horse, nor helmet, nor sword, nor any money, but in wonted manner let him arrange the body of the dead, his head to the west, his feet to the east, upon his shield, if he it have, and let him drive deep his lance and there hang his arms, and to it rein his steed; and let him to go to the nearest vill, and to him whom he shall first meet, as well as to him who is his socn, let him declare it; that he may have proof and make defence against his foe's kinsmen and friends.<sup>37</sup>

The next great step forward was taken when money-payment was accepted by the injured man or his kinsmen in atonement for offences

<sup>36</sup> Ll. Edw. and Cuth. 6, Thorpe (ed. 1840), p. 73; cited by J. Lawrence Laughlin: "The Anglo-Saxon Legal Procedure." (In *Essays on Anglo-Saxon Law*, by Henry Adams and others, p. 264.)

<sup>37</sup> Ll. Henr. 83, 6, Thorpe (ed. 1840), p. 258, cited by Laughlin, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

which, before, had rendered the criminal liable to outlawry.<sup>38</sup> We read,

First, according to folkrigt, ought the slayer to give pledge to the kindred of the slain that he shall make them full satisfaction. Then should security be given that the slayer may draw nigh in peace, and himself give pledge for the wer. After this shall have been done, let the peace of the king be raised between them.<sup>39</sup>

Hitherto, the attitude of the court in formally authorizing the injured person to kill the criminal or, later, to force him to money-payment, had not been at all that of an impersonal judge of the criminal, but that of a susceptible and active sympathizer, who merely conveyed to the injured man the eager consent of the community to his own private revenge. It happens, however, that there did exist from the earliest times one class of offences,—especially shameful ones calculated to rouse rather cold contempt than the active impulse to lynch at sight,—towards which the state had assumed, apparently from the earliest times, the former attitude,<sup>40</sup> that of impersonal judge and passionless inflicter upon the offender of carefully discriminated punishment. Gradually this theory prevailed; and as rational ideas gained greater sway, and government grew more centralized, it came

<sup>38</sup> Gummere: *Germanic Origins*, p. 178.

<sup>39</sup> Ll. Edmund. 11. 7, Thorpe (ed. 1840), p. 107; cited by Laughlin, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

<sup>40</sup> Tacitus: *Germania*, ch. 12.

to be more and more the custom in offences of every nature and of every degree of heinousness, for the injured person not to lynch or mulct the offender, either summarily or with sympathetic permission of the court, but to hand him over to the court to be dealt with as it saw fit.<sup>41</sup> Judicial procedure had, at last, passed out of private hands and become a function of the state.

We have, then, traced roughly the evolution of sentiment along this line: in the beginning, irresponsible private vengeance; next, passionate judicial consent to such private vengeance; next, the gradual triumph of the more merciful system of money payment over that of outlawry; and, lastly, the handing over to the state, as to a discriminating judge, not a passion-blinded partisan, of the judgment of the criminal. In short, the Anglo-Saxons, during the Anglo-Saxon period, had progressed so far as to fix firmly in their law the Theory of True Punishment. We know how awful this theory proved in practice in medieval and early modern times, when, under color of justice, the most frightful judicial cruelties were practised upon unhappy prisoners. Our point, however, is that this theory is, in itself, immensely in advance of the lynch-law practice that prevailed before its adoption, and that it represents one of the elements in the science of modern penology.

<sup>41</sup> Laughlin: *op. cit.*, p. 274.

We pass from this survey of the development of social sentiment to the region of scientific thought. Some incipient stirring of the investigating spirit we can trace in our old epic. We find manifest interest in the genesis of various mechanical contrivances,— “gúthbyrne heard hond-locen”;<sup>42</sup> “duru fyr-bendum faest”;<sup>43</sup> “féla láfe”;<sup>44</sup> “homera láfe”;<sup>45</sup> “searo-net séowed smithes orthancum”;<sup>46</sup> “féla láfe scúr heard”;<sup>47</sup> “ecg wæs íren áter-téarum fáh, ahýrded heatho-swáte”;<sup>48</sup> all these expressions and others, many of them inserted quite inappositely, bear witness to their eager and instinctive curiosity concerning human invention. Other evidence we also have of this embryonic intellectual inquisitiveness. In a sense, as has been more or less clearly recognized, the magician was, among primitive peoples, a veritable man of science, because by his operations, carried on after careful study of natural phenomena, he tried to imitate Nature’s processes.<sup>49</sup> The invincible swords in *Beowulf*,<sup>50</sup> the golden standard, “greatest marvel of

<sup>42</sup> *Beo.*, 321-2.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 721-2.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 1032.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 2829.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 405-6.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 1033.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 1459.

<sup>49</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*: Article “Alchemy” by Jules Andrieu.

<sup>50</sup> *Beo.*, 2768-2770.

handicraft, woven with arts of incantation"<sup>51</sup> so that it shed mellow radiance thro' the dark barrow, Beowulf's foamy-necked ship, carrying him with incredible swiftness to his destination,<sup>52</sup> Heorot, "greatest of hall-houses," rising with a silent swiftness suggesting giant workmanship,<sup>53</sup>—all these may well have been dreams potent as that of the philosopher's stone to move eager, primitive craftsmen,—prototypes of the wondersmiths<sup>54</sup> of *Beowulf*,—to patient labor for the development of the finer metals, for more effective mechanical contrivance. This perennial longing of the human mind for stimulating discovery and invention the scientist of the twentieth century strives to satisfy by working with splendid audacity upon the basis of principles vindicated by centuries of labor and accomplishment. With equal audacity the scientist of the sixth century, ignorant of natural law, turned, for a basis for his work, to the contemplation of certain occult, spiritual phenomena or agencies, striving to establish between them, and matter organic or inorganic, a relation of Cause and Effect,—which process, with its resultant activities, we now call Magic.

We find, then, in *Beowulf*, hints of the faintly-

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 2767-2771 (Earle's Translation).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 217-223, 1908-1912.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 76-78.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 1682.

dawning spirit of investigation exercising itself upon the material universe in reference to its origins, qualities, and capabilities: first, in primitive but perfectly sound and practical mechanical achievement, such as chain-armor, door-hinges, and tempered weapons; secondly, in wild experiment based upon a series of false hypotheses and deductions. And because in the practice of medicine in England before 1066 we have the most significant blending of common sense and vagary, I have chosen it to illustrate the scientific development of the period. In other words, upon the human body, as upon other materials, the Old English exercised their faculties both of discrimination and observation and of credulous self-delusion. In *Beowulf* the strength of the human body could be impaired by the evil eye,<sup>55</sup> or enhanced thirty-fold by divine inheritance.<sup>56</sup> And in the history of the Old English medical school we find its really sound though simple conceptions mixed with superstitions as strange and palpable.

We will deal first with the results achieved in the realms of reason and common sense. Like all primitive medical theory, that of the Old English was based upon the healing properties of herbs. This necessitated a thorough canvas of field and wood; and it is interesting to dis-

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 1766-1767.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 379-380, 2359-61.



cover, from the evidence supplied by old leech-books, by English and Latin glossaries, and by Old English plant-lists, that the Old English had been eminently successful in identifying and in listing very large numbers of English plants.<sup>57</sup> Beyond this, they had, besides studying individual species, begun comparing plants one with another, not in order to discover fundamental relationships, though this is what it ultimately led to, but as a crude method of description, namely, by comparing the specimen in question with some well-known plant.<sup>58</sup>

In addition to this knowledge of the external appearance and structure of plants the English had also, by 1066, gained genuine knowledge of their remedial properties. There is no doubt that there did exist in this herbal medicine a very real though very simple art of healing. It has been proved that the following prescription is an effective ointment for wounds:<sup>59</sup> "Take yarrow and the nether part of woodruff, fellmore and the nether part of sigelhwurf; boil in good butter, draw through a cloth and let stand." An English blacksmith of Teddington in the middle of the nineteenth century speedily cured an injured finger by an application of a root called comfrey, a standard remedy of the sixth

<sup>57</sup> J. F. Payne: *English Medicine in the Anglo-Saxon Times*, p. 81.

<sup>58</sup> J. Earle: *English Plant Names*, Introduction, p. xvii.

<sup>59</sup> J. F. Payne: *op. cit.*, p. 86.

century.<sup>60</sup> Many other effective household remedies are scattered through these old leech-books.

Nor was the medical practice confined to the administration of herbs. They had evidently thought considerably on the subject of diet, and some of their recommendations are curiously in keeping with modern theory. It is interesting to find "many hen's eggs beaten up into a vessel all raw" recommended for tuberculosis.<sup>61</sup> The food-regimen prescribed for abdominal indigestion<sup>62</sup> as well as for abdominal inflammation<sup>63</sup> was judicious, while there are elements of sense in that prescribed for the liver.<sup>64</sup> For diabetes, too, the diet was reasonably ordered.<sup>65</sup>

The Old English also prescribed baths of various sorts with more or less frequency. These are sometimes cool baths of "fresh sweet water";<sup>66</sup> sometimes, they are heated by means of hot stones;<sup>67</sup> sometimes they are elaborately medi-

<sup>60</sup> *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft*, ed. Cockayne, i. p. liii.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 264.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 226-232.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 196.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 210-216.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 88-90. This information was furnished me by a physician of unquestionable standing, who also vouched for the three preceding statements after rejecting as nonsense several of the other diet-prescriptions I submitted to him.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 195.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 107.

cated with herbs.<sup>68</sup> Vapor-baths are also prescribed.<sup>69</sup> Among all these it is probable that only the vapor-baths, prescribed usually for skin diseases or abdominal trouble,<sup>70</sup> were of positive remedial value.

So much for the positive accomplishment of the Old English medical school. Slight as it is, it may yet seem less trivial if we glance at the mass of superstition out of which it was working its way towards rational conceptions.

We have spoken of a magician as a man who attempted to establish the relation of cause and effect between certain occult powers as agents, and the material universe. And how did this conception apply specifically to the human body as part of the material universe?

The early Teutonic ideas in this matter agree with those of Pythagoras, the founder of the healing art among the Greeks. He believed that through the air floated hosts of spiritual beings who inflict upon mankind diseases.<sup>71</sup> The malign intention of evil spirits is, then, the cause of any disturbance of healthful equilibrium. This belief accompanied the Anglo-Saxons to England. We have had endless instances to prove the point in the very wording of our old prescriptions. Some of them are to be taken

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 323.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 341.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 341.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, i. p. xiii.

for "devil-sickness";<sup>72</sup> or for "elf-hicket";<sup>73</sup> or for "water-elf disease";<sup>74</sup> or in order "to do away a dwarf"<sup>75</sup> (namely, convulsions). That is, they were as sure of vicious attacks by evil spirits as they were of bites of mad dogs<sup>76</sup> or of snakes.<sup>77</sup>

There were three ways of meeting the results of supernatural malice: first, by utilizing for the organs affected the actually remedial qualities of herbs; second, by applying to the sick man's body objects such as plants, or parts of animals, gems, minerals, etc., to which certain mysterious powers were attributed;<sup>78</sup> third, by bullying the evil spirits by incantations or bribing them with gifts into ceasing their persecutions.<sup>79</sup> The first method is reasonable and practical. The last two constitute the magical element in the practice of the early physician.

We have observed the achievement made in medicine during the Old English period in so far as its operations were based upon observation and common sense. As far as the magic element is concerned, the attitude of the Old English doctor remained unchanged. In 1066,

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 249.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 349.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 345.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 365.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 149.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 175.

<sup>78</sup> J. F. Payne: *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>79</sup> Cockayne: *op. cit.*, i. p. xiii.

as in 449, he was still trusting to amulets such as stones<sup>80</sup> and foxes' teeth.<sup>81</sup> In the incantations against evil spirits he had, it is true, substituted, instead of such unintelligible jargon as "Mei, threu, moe, phor, teux, za, zon, the, lu, chri, ge, ze, on,"<sup>82</sup> Christian expressions like "Shout, the Lord God is my shield! Oh! the ineffable name!"<sup>83</sup> or "Benedicite omnia opera domini, dominum!"<sup>84</sup> But the spirit in which these formulæ were uttered was obviously unaltered.

We turn now to consideration of the hints in *Beowulf* of the Teutonic Pantheon, and to the ultimate fate in England of these vaguely reflected gods. These indications are of three kinds: first, direct reference to the gods, either by name or by characteristic symbols or aspects; second, figures representing gods in various stages of degeneration; third, common nouns concealing colorlessly the names of ancient deities.<sup>85</sup>

The only deity referred to by name is the goddess Wyrð,<sup>86</sup> and even she is fading, in various places, into a mere figure of speech, as where the poet says that God grants Beowulf's people

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 307.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 105.

<sup>82</sup> J. F. Payne: *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>83</sup> Cockayne: *op. cit.*, ii. 67.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 291.

<sup>85</sup> *Beo.*, 303, 512, 1427.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 455.

"the web of victory";<sup>87</sup> or into the generalized abstraction we call fate.<sup>88</sup> This obliteration of outline has in fact proceeded so far in our poem that her influence seems rather that of a vast impersonal force, like the sullen northern sea, than of an active, self-conscious agent.

This process of obliteration, so actively begun in *Beowulf*, continued until the final position of Wyrd under the Christian régime is interesting to contemplate. Originally too powerful and portentous to be utterly degraded or lost, she was finally transformed into the instrument of the Christian God in working out his designs among men. I quote the words of Boethius, whose works became so popular among Anglo-Saxon churchmen, and in whom we find the classical exposition of this idea. "Providence is the Divine Reason in itself, seated in the Supreme Being which disposes all things: Fate is a disposition inherent in all things which move through Providence, joining all things in their proper order. Providence embraces all things however different, however infinite; Fate sets in motion separately individual things, and assigns to them severally their position, form, and kind. So the unfolding of this temporal order, unified into the foreview of the Divine Mind, is Providence, while the same unity broken up and unfolded in time is Fate. Providence

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 697.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 734.

is the fixed and simple form of destined events, Fate their shifting series in order of time." It is startling to see this picturesque old pagan goddess thus separated from a degenerate kindred and firmly established as a most respectable factor in early Christian theology.<sup>99</sup>

There is also, as we have said, indirect reference to the Teutonic Pantheon, not by name, but by means of some characteristic symbol or aspect. To illustrate the first point. There are in *Beowulf* various passages that dwell especially upon the figures of the boars adorning the helmet of the hero and his companions. "He bade them bring in the headcrest in the shape of a boar, the helmet high-uplifted in battle."<sup>100</sup> "The graven boars shone over their gold-decked cheek guards, gleaming and tempered in the fire. Grimly warlike of temper, the boar kept watch."<sup>101</sup> The god to whom the boar was sacred was Fréa,<sup>102</sup> and the connection between the military custom of Beowulf's men, and the worship of this god, is indubitable.

This god is again indirectly referred to in our poem. We find him there in the aspect of divine progenitor of a race of kings. In the Finn-episode, Finn himself is called the son

<sup>99</sup> Boethius: *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. See J. Earle, Translation of *Beowulf*, note to 1.

<sup>100</sup> *Beo.*, 2152-2155.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 304.

<sup>102</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye: *The Religion of the Teutons*, p. 252.

of Folcwalda.<sup>93</sup> Now as the Anglo-Saxon genealogies also supply Finn with an ancestor named Folcwald,<sup>94</sup> and as the Edda calls Freyr (Fréa) "folkvaldi gótha,"<sup>95</sup> and as in the old genealogies again one of the descendants of Finn is called Freawine, a term kindred in meaning to "folkwaldi," we may naturally conclude that the words in *Beowulf* refer to the line of Fréa.<sup>96</sup>

In yet a third fashion does the image of Fréa haunt our poem. His very name, divested of its personal application, is colorlessly applied now to God (Fréa),<sup>97</sup> now to a king (fréawine),<sup>98</sup> now to a crown (fréa-wrásu),<sup>99</sup> now to a husband (fréa).<sup>100</sup>

In these three ways, then,—by means of his symbol, his race, and his name,—is the image of this great Teutonic god vaguely reflected in our poem. What of his later fate in England as the influence of Christianity grew ever stronger? After furnishing traits to a few Christian saints<sup>101</sup> he rapidly faded into the mere remote origin

<sup>93</sup> *Beo.*, 1089. The name (in the form *Folcwald*) also occurs in *Liber Vitæ*: Sweet, *O. E. T.*, p. 158, l. 163.

<sup>94</sup> Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, § 31; cf. O. Haack, *Zeugnisse zur æ. Heldensage*, 1892, pp. 44, 46.

<sup>95</sup> *Skirnesmól* 3.

<sup>96</sup> Jacob Grimm: *Deut. Mythol.* ii. x. 181.

<sup>97</sup> *Beo.*, 2285.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 2357.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 1451.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 642.

<sup>101</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye: *op. cit.*, p. 253.



of a few medieval customs. His boar is found on an old helmet dug up at Benty Grange,<sup>102</sup> Derbyshire; at medieval feasts the chief ornament was the boar's head, upon which knights made fantastic vows;<sup>103</sup> it is present in the famous Alfred Jewel;<sup>104</sup> and the boar is mentioned, in various remedial connections, in the Old English leechdoms.<sup>105</sup> Any such vivid traditions of him, however, as kept his name long alive in northern Europe faded early out of England.

As one suggestion of Fréa in *Beowulf* was given by means of his symbol, the boar, so, by means of her characteristic ornament, his sister Freyja is faintly but fascinatingly in evidence. In the festal hall of the Danes we see the wonderful Brísinga men bestowed by Wealtheow upon Beowulf,<sup>106</sup> passed on by him to Hygd,<sup>107</sup> and finally disappearing from tradition as part of the spoil torn from Hygelac in his last disastrous campaign.<sup>108</sup> But to the mind familiar with Scandinavian saga the significance of the mention of this splendid ornament lies not in the bit of court-ceremonial it introduces, nor in

<sup>102</sup> H. M. Chadwick: *The Origin of the English Nation*, p. 248.

<sup>103</sup> J. Grimm: *Deut. Mythol.*<sup>4</sup> i. x. 178.

<sup>104</sup> J. Earle: *The Alfred Jewel*.

<sup>105</sup> Cockayne: *op. cit.*, i. 358, 360. ii. 182, 310.

<sup>106</sup> *Beo.*, 1216.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 2172.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 1210-1211.

its subsequent history, but in its intrinsic suggestive power,—in the inimitable picture it brings before us of the angry goddess in Asgard, raging so furiously at the demand of the giant lord that this very necklace bursts into a shower of glowing gems.<sup>109</sup>

Besides this specially significant reference, it is possible that Freyja is present in disguise in the word *geofon*.<sup>110</sup> If this word is really etymologically connected with *Gefyon*,<sup>111</sup>—a conclusion to which no scholar, however tempted, yet definitely commits himself,—we find ourselves confronted with Freyja in one of her most fascinating and baffling aspects, namely, the Freyja of the land of the dead, at whose kindly table dying maidens confidently expect to feast<sup>112</sup> on the night of their departure from earth.

This brilliant and beautiful deity shares in England the fate of her brother Fréa. She fades out of sight, yielding, however, not so much to the inevitable erasure of time as to the pressure of more potent personalities. Gradually St. Gertrude became the patron to whom dying women looked for cherishing protection.<sup>113</sup> The Virgin Mary usurped her place in the hearts

<sup>109</sup> *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, i. 176–180.

<sup>110</sup> *Beo.*, 515.

<sup>111</sup> *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. Jónsson, 1907, p. 54.

<sup>112</sup> W. Golther: *Handbuch der germ. Mythol.*, p. 446.

<sup>113</sup> J. Grimm: *Deut. Mythol.*, i. xiii. 253.

of men as well as that of the powerful Frigg. The very stars and flowers universally acknowledged the new supremacy. In Zealand the common people began to use indiscriminately the expressions "Frejerock" and "Mariärok" for the constellation we name Orion's Belt.<sup>114</sup> Likewise, in the popular name of the little gold beetle, skalkräk, namely, jungfru Marie nyckelkiga, the Virgin's name has replaced Freyja's.<sup>115</sup> The same process went on wholesale among plants, doubtless, in England and elsewhere.<sup>116</sup> Even the witch joined, possibly, in this process of usurpation, taking possession of the cat which tradition connects both with Frigg and Freyja.<sup>117</sup> This animal was sacrificed to the former, while the chariot of the latter was drawn sometimes by cats; though often, equipped with falcon plumage, she flew through the air,<sup>118</sup>—another trait connecting her with the witches. Thus robbed of the stars, flowers, and characteristic possessions, Freyja sank even more completely out of sight than did her brother Fréa, to whom his boar at least maintained remote allegiance.

We said at the beginning of this section that

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, i. xiii. 251.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. xi. 578.

<sup>116</sup> Possibly in *Marybud*, *Marigold*.

<sup>117</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye: *op. cit.* p. 376, p. 277; Grimm: *Deut. Mythol.*, i. xiii. 254. *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. Jónsson, p. 45.

<sup>118</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye: *op. cit.* p. 277.

a god was sometimes present in our poem by means of an epithet expressing some characteristic aspect. We read that in the time of great national distress caused by Grendel's depredations, the heathen "vowed offerings in their temples of idols, besought that the slayer of giants would find relief for the people's sorrow."<sup>119</sup> The word translated "slayer of giants" is *gastbona*. There are in saga nearly forty similar epithets applied to Thor;<sup>120</sup> and there seems little doubt that in this place the word applies to the Teutonic god. The allusion, then, is to his most picturesque aspect, and brings before us his series of Titanic struggles, now against Hrungir, now against Gjalp, now against giants who approach boldly the gates of Asgard.<sup>121</sup>

The fate of this god after the introduction of Christianity is interesting. He does not fade out of notice, as do Fréa and Freyja. The peculiarly violent character of Thor,—the death-dealing power of his mighty hammer,—made him like Loki for different reasons, more peculiarly liable to the process of degeneration than were the serene and joyous deities Fréa and Freyja, who, as we have seen, either died out or became

<sup>119</sup> *Beo.*, 177.

<sup>120</sup> Gröndal: *Clavis Poetica Antiquæ Linguae Septentrionalis*, cited by J. Earle in his translation of *Beowulf*, note to l. 177.

<sup>121</sup> *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. Jónsson, pp. 41, 73, 88.

merged with congenial Christian saints. In all Teutonic lands Thor's violence became identified with the destructive malice of the Christian devil. His hammer gradually became personified so that at last the words "Hammer," "Thunder," and "Devil" became almost synonyms.<sup>122</sup> "Thor's bridge" is synonymous in Schonen for the "devil's bridge,"—indicating strange chaotic piles of rock,<sup>123</sup>—and "Hammerlein" signified a demoniacal goblin,<sup>124</sup> while the expression "de Hammer sla" was equivalent to our "The Devil take you."<sup>125</sup>

There are, of course, many traces of the undegenerate Thor in the names of towns, mountains, insects, herbs, and animals scattered through Scandinavia and Germany,<sup>126</sup>—and in some places a certain sacredness was attached to Thursday, which precluded on that day certain forms of work such as hop-gathering<sup>127</sup> and spinning. Until comparatively late the custom survived of throwing a stone hammer to determine the boundary of a field.<sup>128</sup> As a rule, however, he is, as before stated, pretty completely identified with the Christian devil.

In England, as is the case with the other gods,

<sup>122</sup> J. M. Kemble: *The Saxons in England*, i. 350.

<sup>123</sup> J. Grimm: *Deut. Mythol.*, i. viii. 155.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, i. viii. 151.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, i. viii. 151.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, i. viii. 151-55.

<sup>127</sup> Thorpe: *Northern Mythology*, i. 276.

<sup>128</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye: *op. cit.*, p. 212.

the traces of him are comparatively faint. Thunder and thunderbolts may suggest to us, in our less stolid moments, the image of the angry, active god. Of his early-acquired diabolical nature we have possibly traces in a section of England where, near the village of Thursley (unmistakably named for Thor), there are two synonyms for his name in its degradation, namely, "Hammer" and "Devil," applied to pond and valley respectively.<sup>129</sup> On the whole, however, England has displayed comparative good-will toward this maligned god. In one of the Old English leechdoms there is a curious instance of the Thursday-superstition above referred to, namely, strenuous insistence upon performing certain magical rites for the cure of a certain disease "on a Thursday evening."<sup>130</sup> These leechdoms also cite pleasant healing herbs named from him, like Thunderwort<sup>131</sup> and Hammerwort;<sup>132</sup> though these are very balefully followed, in the next prescription, by the word "thunthr-thingum"<sup>133</sup> applied to ulcerous sores. England has also honored him by borrowing his hammer, his red beard, and his dragon for St. George;<sup>134</sup> and it is pleasant to leave him

<sup>129</sup> J. M. Kemble: *The Saxons in England*, i. 350.

<sup>130</sup> Cockayne: *op. cit.*, ii. 347.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 111.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 375.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 356.

<sup>134</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye: *op. cit.*, p. 216.

there, in the shadow of the fierce and picturesque English saint, in a measure restored to pristine respectability.

We have seen how Thor, apparent in *Beowulf* in sublime aspect, was afterwards degraded to the rank of a devil. We see in our poem another god absolutely in the process of degeneration. There are three times mentioned in *Beowulf*<sup>136</sup> nickers, or sea-spirits, curiously endowed with a supernatural faculty, which like the supernatural strength of Beowulf,<sup>136</sup> or the supernatural beauty of Horn,<sup>137</sup> inevitably suggests previous divinity. More significant still, in an old German glossary the word "neckar" is translated by "Neptune," the god of the sea. "Hnikuthr," "Nikuz," is known to be one of the names given to Woden when he appears as god of the sea.<sup>138</sup> The natural conclusion is that we have in these malicious, man-eating monsters the great god Woden well on his way toward his degeneration.

In England, Woden has left more traces than the gods previously mentioned, though, as usual, far fewer than in the Continental countries, where compounds containing his name were attached to large numbers of mountains, woods, woodglades, towns, islands, birds, and even

<sup>136</sup> *Beo.*, 567-569, 1428-1429, 1440.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 379-380.

<sup>137</sup> *Geste of Horn*, ll. 385-6.

<sup>138</sup> J. Grimm: *Deut. Mythol.* i. vii. 123.

estates of noble families.<sup>139</sup> In comparatively few cases, apparently, has the name of the Christian God, as in the case of Wodensholt,<sup>140</sup> now Godensholt, of Oldenburg, crowded out Woden's, as Mary's did Freyja's in names of plants.

Of the continuance in later tradition of the diabolical aspect of Woden apparent in *Beowulf*, we have general evidence in the persistence of the belief in evil water-spirits.<sup>141</sup> Also, on the ground of its etymological likeness to a Norse name for Odin, Öski, it is maintained that the term which still survives in Devonshire for magic, namely "wishtness," is traceable to Woden degenerate.<sup>142</sup> It would be interesting to feel, with Grimm, that the witchcraft superstition of a league with the devil in which, in exchange for his service, you gave him your soul, may have been suggested to Christians by the "gefaz Othin," "the giving oneself to Odin," of old Norse legend.<sup>143</sup> But besides the fact that this sort of league is precisely the sort of notion that might spring up independently in any locality, there is the grave objection that in the "gefaz Othin" it was the devotee who promised

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, i. vii. 126-128.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, i. vii. 126.

<sup>141</sup> *Blickling Homilies*. To Sanctæ Michæeles Mæssan.

<sup>142</sup> J. M. Kemble: *The Saxons in England*, i. 336; Eden Phillpotts: *The Striking Hours* (Tauchnitz Ed., vol. 3653), p. 41.

<sup>143</sup> J. Grimm: *Deut. Mythol.*,<sup>4</sup> ii. xxxiii. 851.



service, while in the witchcraft pact it was the devil,—a consideration which compels me to reject the suggestion. Of course, in Old English sermons Woden takes his place, along with all the old pagan deities, Teutonic or Greek, as a devil indeed. With his particular legend, however, Old England, on the whole, dealt kindly. His hat and mantle and dapple-grey horse reappear in the legend of St. Martin and St. Michael.<sup>144</sup> We have many place-names embodying his: Wanborough in Surrey, Wanborough in Wiltshire, Woodnesborough in Kent, Wonston in Hampshire probably mark the old sites for worship on the top of hills. Near the first are peculiarly fresh and pure springs that never freeze,<sup>145</sup> objects particularly marked for veneration by our forefathers.<sup>146</sup> But the most striking proof of the persistence of Woden's popularity is the fashion in which he has established himself in England as progenitor of every Anglo-Saxon royal family.<sup>147</sup> Take Offa, king of the Mercians, for instance. Offa was son of Thincgferth, Thincgferth son of Eanwulf, Eanwulf of Osmod, Osmod of Eawa, Eawa of Pybba, Pybba of Creoda, Creoda of Cynewald, Cynewald of Cnebba, Cnebba of Ikel, Ikel of Eomaer, Eo-

<sup>144</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye: *op. cit.* 212-213.

<sup>145</sup> J. M. Kemble: *The Saxons in England*, i. 344; Holinshed's *Chron.*, i. 171.

<sup>146</sup> Benjamin Thorpe: *Northern Mythol.*, i. 257.

<sup>147</sup> H. Chadwick: *op. cit.*, p. 59.

maer of Angeltheow, Angeltheow of Offa, Offa of Waermund, Waermund of Wihtlaeg, Wihtlaeg of Woden;<sup>148</sup> or of Ethelwulf of [the West Saxons: Ethelwulf son of Egbert, Egbert son of Elmund, Elmund of Eafa, Eafa of Eoppa, Eoppa of Ingild, Ingild of Kenred, Kenred of Ceolwald, Ceolwald of Cutha, Cutha of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Ceawlin, Ceawlin of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic, Cerdic of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawin, Freawin of Frithogar, Frithogar of Brond, Brond of Beldeg, Beldeg of Woden.<sup>149</sup> All of the Anglo-Saxon Genealogies run in such wise; and the invariable presence of Woden proves conclusively the preservation for this god at least of some degree of his previous godhead, while the presence in the Wessex genealogy of Freawine (Fréa) along with Woden<sup>150</sup> is interesting not only as rescuing the former god from the almost total obscurity into which he would have otherwise fallen, but also as emphasizing one line of cleavage taking place in Christian tradition among the gods. The more serene and beneficent, like Woden and Fréa, tended on the whole, in spite of occasional slips, toward positions of blameless distinction, while others, like Thor and Loki and the waterbrood, drifted into more or less close identification with the devil himself. It is a significant

<sup>148</sup> *A. S. Chron.*, A. D. 755.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 855.

<sup>150</sup> *A. S. Chron.*, A. D. 855.

fact that never by any chance do Thor and Loki make their way into the royal genealogies.

Another water-monster there is in our poem who bears traces of the supernatural quality visible in the nickers. This is Grendel, who walks on the "misty moors" "in the form of a man,"<sup>151</sup> beneath whose touch the solid doors of Heorot fall open,<sup>152</sup> whose charmed body is weapon-proof.<sup>153</sup> Beyond this, however, Grendel has various characteristics which would seem to connect him with specific gods. He has traits in common with Loki, for instance. Though Loki is a fire god, yet we find him closely connected with water, Grendel's element. The Midgard-serpent and the Fenris wolf are his offspring, and, in one old song, water is called his element. One of his notable adventures is performed in the shape of a fish.<sup>154</sup> Also Grendel, though a water sprite, is connected with Loki's element through an unumlauted form of his name, Grant, which belongs to an English fire-demon.<sup>155</sup> Moreover the etymology of the two names is significant, Loki meaning "the closer,"<sup>156</sup> Grendel being possibly related to A. S. *grintel*, O. H. G. *krintil*, M. H. G.

<sup>151</sup> *Beo.*, 1353.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 722.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 801-805.

<sup>154</sup> *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. Jónsson, pp. 49, 94 f.

<sup>155</sup> Grimm: *op. cit.*, i. xii. 201.

<sup>156</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye: *op. cit.*, p. 260.

*grintel*, "bolt or bar."<sup>157</sup> It is a striking fact that in Germany a synonym for a diabolic being is *Höllriegel*, "hell-bar," "hell-bolt."

It seems probable, then, that we have in Grendel a stage in the degradation of Loki from a malicious and tricky god into the devil par excellence which finally he indubitably became. So completely was his individuality absorbed by the archfiend of Christian tradition that scarcely a reminiscence of him existed even on the Continent,—not at all in England. Westergötland has her giant grave,<sup>158</sup> Lokehall; in Scandinavia a harmful weed is called "Loki's oats"; the star Sirius is called Lokabrenna; and he still lives in a few proverbial expressions.<sup>159</sup> In England, however, not a name or a custom is reminiscent of him. He was totally supplanted by the devil of the new régime. Grendel also possesses a trait of yet another old god. His strange dwelling at the bottom of the sea, with its wave-proof roof and weird light,<sup>160</sup> resembles that of the serene and friendly Aegir,<sup>161</sup> guest and host of the gods of Asgard, whose abode was cheerily lighted by masses of shining sunken

<sup>157</sup> Grimm: *op. cit.*, i. xii. 201.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, i, xii. 210.

<sup>159</sup> Chantepie de la Saussaye: *op. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>160</sup> *Beo.*, 1570-71.

<sup>161</sup> W. Golther: *Handbuch der germ. Mythol.*, p. 174.  
Chantepie de la Saussaye: *op. cit.*, 331.

gold.<sup>162</sup> Of this Aegir<sup>163</sup> no reminiscence remains, so far as I know, on the Continent or in England.

There remains to be discussed a set of words which, though they appear as mere common nouns, retain in their context a certain vivacity of expression which seems to indicate that, when they were written, the ideas they represented had not sunk into these mere abstractions, but were still active personal agencies. Such words are *hel* (hel him onfeng);<sup>164</sup> *hild* (gif mec hild nime).<sup>165</sup> *wíg* (wíg ealle fornam).<sup>166</sup>

The goddess Hel reigned over the dark regions whither led the gloomy Helvegr, which, winding through deep and dark valleys, must be traveled by the dead, for which Höllenwanderung the Helskor (hell-shoe) was given them.<sup>167</sup> This kingdom of Hel's is shut away from the land of the living by the Helgrind or Höllenthor. But, though all was black and cheerless, there was no idea of punitive suffering connected with Hel's domain.<sup>168</sup> The fate of this fine old goddess is singular. It happened that, in pagan tradition, there existed also a place called Nastrond, where, amid deadly serpents, the perjurer and secret murderer expiated their guilt.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>162</sup> W. Golther: *op. cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>163</sup> Not to be confused with Oegir.

<sup>164</sup> *Beo.*, 852.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 452.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 1081.

<sup>167</sup> W. Golther: *Handbuch der germ. Mythol.*, p. 471.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 472.

<sup>169</sup> J. M. Kemble: *The Saxons in England*, i. 393.

When according to the Christian belief, a place of punishment after death was needed for all sorts of sinners, the Anglo-Saxons joined, to this end, the shadows and cold of Hel's domain to the serpents of Nastrond.<sup>170</sup> The result was the conception of hell that we find in the following passage, "For them he made hell, a dwelling deadly cold, with winter covered; water he sent in and snake-dwellings, many a foul beast with horns of iron; bloody eagles and pale adders; hunger and thirst and fierce conflict, mighty terror, joylessness."<sup>171</sup> From this place of blackness and horror the goddess Hel vanishes entirely, leaving only her name for a memento. As time passed on, this place of torment began to glow with the sinister flames of Oriental tradition, which increased so rapidly in volume and fury that, by the end of the seventh century, the old goddess, returning, would have recognized, in the horrid furnace with its writhing souls, no trace of the quiet, sombre stretches and the pallid ghosts of her old domain.

Of the two other words instanced with *hel* as containing, in their context, lifelike suggestions, namely, *wig* and *hild*, the first is preserved for us as a variant for Woden in one of the genealogies,<sup>172</sup> while Hild drops entirely out of sight.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 394.

<sup>171</sup> *Solomon and Saturn*, quoted by Kemble, *op. cit.*, p. 394-5.

<sup>172</sup> *A. S. Chron.*, A. D. 855.

Of common nouns which, used quite colorlessly, are yet the faded names of old deities, we mention *tír*,<sup>173</sup> *éagor*,<sup>174</sup> *fífel*,<sup>175</sup> and possibly *firgen*.<sup>176</sup> The first, Tyr,<sup>177</sup> a mighty god of war, left his name in England to mark the third day of the week, and the town of Tewesley;<sup>178</sup> Eagor and Fifel, two names for one stormy sea-god, have left few or no traces either in Germany or elsewhere; while Firgen, if indeed the word is a name of Earth herself,<sup>179</sup> retains, in England at least, personal quality only in a charm, where, with commendable vigor, she still holds her own against the Virgin Mary; and, on the ground of her motherhood to Thor, in the familiar tradition of the devil's dam, or the devil's grandmother.<sup>180</sup>

Let us now sum up briefly the degree to which, according to the data just given, the residence of the Anglo-Saxons in England had modified certain Teutonic conceptions.

From a simple acceptance of the theory that the weak are the natural slaves of the strong, they had advanced to some conception of the righteous claim of every human soul to certain individual rights and liberties. Feebly grasped

<sup>173</sup> *Beo.*, 1654.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 513. See also Grimm, *op. cit.*, iii. 82.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 1414.

<sup>177</sup> *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. Jónsson, pp. 45 f.

<sup>178</sup> Kemble: *op. cit.*, p. 351.

<sup>179</sup> J. Grimm: *Deut. Mythol.*,<sup>4</sup> i. viii. 143.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, i. viii. 144.

as yet, and working itself out but slowly in practical policies, it yet was raising woman from hopeless domestic slavery to a position compatible with some degree of individual choice and initiative; and was shielding the hunted outlaw from the blind fury of his ruthless pursuer by insistence upon orderly legal procedure.

Analogous advance is perceptible in the scientific thought of the period. In medicine, slight as was its achievement, we yet can trace distinctly growing dependence upon rational ideas and methods. As we have seen, the element of magic was not driven out; but, on the whole, medicine was being conceived of more and more as an art based not upon knowledge of mystical relations and occult processes, but upon knowledge of natural law disclosing itself slowly but surely to the patient investigator.

In religion, too, we note, a significant change. Of the multitude of deities filling earth and air and sea, often at war with each other,—never united by a common conscious purpose,—only traces are left here and there in custom, or superstition, or name. Under the influence of Augustine and his monks they had arrived at the notion of one great force governing the universe,—from the soul of man to the remotest star,—all in the light of one great and unswerving purpose; had arrived, that is, at a conception which, —whether he call it God, or Ultimate Cause, or Evolution, or Law,—to the modern man remains perennially and vitally interesting.



## ENGLISH AND THE LAW

BY HERBERT L. FORDHAM, PH.B., LL.B.

One of the most curious anomalies in modern education is the comparatively slight attention paid in the United States to the study of the English language as a preparation for the study and practice of law. It would seem to be self-evident that before entering upon the special study of any science—whether psychology, ethics, political economy, or law—which at best is always limited by the possibilities of language, and can never be more nearly precise than the words and expressions in which it must be couched, the student should master that language in which his future study is to lie. Yet a method so obviously right and necessary is quite generally ignored. The future lawyer first spends several years in the primary and secondary schools, where only recently—speaking of them as a class and not reflecting upon certain conspicuous exceptions—has any real effort been made to educate the young American in his own language. The inadequacy of this early training in English is painfully apparent to all who have read the papers which Freshmen

hand in to their instructors. Not only are these papers oblivious of the higher claims of rhetoric, they are often lacking in the elements of spelling and grammar. In some cases a Freshman of intelligent appearance and good general education will be so unfamiliar with his own tongue as not to know the ordinary sounds of the vowels, but will use *a* for *e*, or *e* for *i*, not from negligence, but from ignorance of the sound which is signified by the letter.

When the student enters college he is met by another difficulty. No longer is there a lack of proper instruction in English so far as such instruction is found in the Department of English. The trouble now is that too little is made of that Department, and that work in English is confined to the courses there given. The courses in English are too often looked upon either as necessary but useless bores to be passed up or grudgingly taken, or as "snaps" to fill out an easy programme. Instead of making a specialty of English, the student in Arts who intends later to study law, will plan to study mathematics to train his "reasoning powers," unmindful of the fact that a true legal mind is a natural gift, and cannot be acquired through a cycle of mathematics. Or, he will plan a long and painstaking course in history and political economy, and social science; a wise proceeding, yet he should remember that he will need his knowledge of English a thousand times for every

single demand upon his knowledge of history, or political economy, or social science. Moreover, he will discover too often that his examination papers in any subject outside of the English Department will bring him high marks if accurate in statements of fact, even though expressed in language inelegant and sometimes uncouth. In addition to all this, he will find a disposition on the part of many lawyers as well as teachers to speak slightly of the study of English; all of which may mislead his immature mind. Altogether, he will be among the minority if he does not enter upon the study of the law, and later upon its practice, with a mind untrained in English as a science; and what is more deplorable, untrained in English as an art.

To this it may be answered that very many lawyers are prospering and growing rich without the ability to write a single sentence correctly and effectively. When we reach this point in the discussion, we should seek to understand what sort of lawyer the student desires to be. Should he content himself with being merely a money-seeking practitioner, without desire for other than pecuniary success, and without ambition to excel in the trial of cases, the presentation of arguments, or even the drafting of papers in clear and unmistakable language, he may dismiss all thought of the study of English. By the same token, he might

well omit all training at a university. His place is among men who rely, and safely rely, upon the money-making instinct. Broad education, general culture, art, beauty, the love of nature, interest in humanity, all these are unnecessary if not uncongenial to such a career. To a student with such business views, we can say only that he has wandered from his path in coming to the university at all, and should leave at once—unless, perchance, by remaining, he may catch a glimpse of what is worth while before it is too late. Mere pecuniary arguments are of a piece with the constantly recurring declamations by a few venturesome millionaires—happily not representative of millionaires as a class—against colleges and college education in general. “Why go to college?” say they. “It costs money and it takes time during which you might be earning other money. Go to work and get rich.” Certainly. Why not? Why not live in a hovel instead of a palace? It costs less and you have fewer housekeeping cares. Then, too, you would not need to be rich. Or, if wealth is all important, why not omit all art along with all knowledge? Then, you could enjoy a billboard more than the famous Hals, and save the cost of opera seats by contributing a nickel occasionally to an organ grinder. Limitless and undeniable are the advantages of the Philistine, but only to him.

Assuming, however, that the student has

high ideals for his professional career; that without wishing to practise law for any reason other than to attain fame and fortune, and perhaps more particularly fortune, he yet wishes to practise it as a gentleman and scholar; and that he earnestly desires to secure the best possible preparation for his career; even then, he may take too much for granted when it comes to the study of English. It is a natural but most unsafe assumption that we know the language to which we were born. A famous teacher of English once said that it seemed to be generally supposed that every one who was possessed of a fair general education and had committed no crime could teach the English language. There seems to be among law students a similar and equally fallacious impression of their ability to write and speak the language. Yet the fact is the other way. Once in a long time, among many millions, there is born a person who will write well no matter how imperfect his education; but in the same circumstances there will arise a comparatively large number of men who are capable of acquiring a fair degree of proficiency in the art of expression, but solely upon condition of getting adequate training. Moreover, many of these men will have good legal minds and will be likely to study law. To them every inducement should be addressed to encourage a proper preparation in English.

What is a proper preparation may be open to

discussion, but the end to be attained is free from doubt: the ability to express both orally and in writing clear and convincing thoughts in apt, precise, and at times, elegant, words. Clear thinking and clear writing tend to go, and ought to go, hand in hand. With this ideal in mind, the teacher and student ought not to go far astray. First, of course, must come the technical side of the training: the elements of grammar and rhetoric. Next, must come a growing familiarity with the masters of English prose; by which I mean the intelligent reading *of* the works of the masters, not an interminable wrangle *about* those works. Last, and most important, is the constant practice of writing and speaking under instruction and criticism, continued for many years. Every prospective lawyer with hopes of high achievement would be the better for a reasonable amount of such training from the day he enters high school to the day he is admitted to the bar: in other words, during a period of ten years. After that he *might* be able to write and speak so that he would be readily understood, and could not be misunderstood except by a reader stupid or perverse. Whoever doubts the desirability of such a consummation need only spend a week in any court of law, however exalted, or read any of the common run of contracts or other legal documents which are abroad in the land.

A superficial conclusion from the foregoing

discussion might be that the writer is about half or three-quarters of a century behind the age, and is amusing himself with the delusion that every lawyer is to try to become a Webster, thundering his resounding sentences before an astonished world. Such a conclusion is quite unwarranted. Every member of the bar knows that a conception of modern practice so mistaken would be not only misleading but grotesque. Yet this fact in no way invalidates our argument. The law does not offer a field chiefly to men of the type of Webster; though were he living, he would find room enough, as must be evident to any one who will compare his famous addresses with the recent efforts of various counsel now much in the public eye. Nevertheless, the training referred to is intended not especially for genius, but for mediocrity as well. The ordinary, representative, modern lawyer, whether he be occupied in court, or more profitably in his office, needs it. He needs it for his contracts, for his wills, for his briefs, for his oral arguments. He needs it in discussions with his clients, and with opposing counsel in conference, just as much as in court. He needs it whenever he writes a letter. He needs it every hour of every day. Indeed, it has been said by a university graduate, that for actual, vital, practical benefit in the practice of the law, he would not exchange all his other college work—valuable as it was—for his training in English.

It is true that for most lawyers it is more important to have the art of written than of oral expression, if one only can be acquired. Yet generally both arts may be acquired, at least in adequate measure. Even those students who look forward to an office practice exclusively ought to consider the advantage of readiness of speech in informal discussions, and also the desirability of being able to make a fairly good impression in court when every other lawyer in the office is otherwise engaged and an adjournment cannot be obtained. To have this power requires practice, however strongly a contrary view may be held by some who ought to know better. It is said that a prominent teacher of law tells his students that they do not need to pay much attention to public speaking, as they will probably do little of it, and if they do get before a jury now and then, all they need to do is to stand up and talk. This would seem to be equivalent to telling a young actor that he need not pay much attention to elocution or the technique of acting, as he stands little chance of becoming a great actor, and if he does get an opportunity to play Hamlet now and then, all he needs to do is to stand up and act.

For the law student who hopes to become a successful advocate, and there is still room for advocates, no argument should be needed to show the vital importance of a long, severe training in public speaking as well as in writing. The



master of oral speech is partly born, but is largely made. He must be trained in one school or another even after he has finished his collegiate work—at the bar, upon the stump, in legislative halls—until the elements of his art have become a part of his nature, and he obeys the rules in the books though he may have forgotten them. Orators come and go, styles change, tastes vary; but oratory will never die. It is as immortal as language itself. Language was spoken long before it was written, and the spoken word ever comes with a peculiar power to the mind and heart.

The law has to do with language, with words: it is expressed in words; it is defined in words; it is applied in words. The law can never be anything except as it is embodied in language. This being true, the study of language should be the main preliminary to the study of law. Evidently the older school of legal education took this for granted. Training in the classics, which was always insisted upon as the corner stone of education, was largely for the purpose of grounding the student in *language* as distinguished from *a language*, and thus giving him a deeper and truer comprehension of his own. So the great lawyers of the world from Cicero to Webster, yes, and to Carter, too, have been masters of their own language.

Let us glance at Webster's early work in English, and perhaps cite an illustration of his later proficiency in it.

It will be remembered that Webster prepared for college partly at Phillips Exeter Academy. Of his work there, he says:

I believe I made tolerable progress in most branches which I attended to while in this school; but there was one thing I could not do. I could not make a declamation. I could not speak before the school. The kind and excellent Buckminster sought especially to persuade me to perform the exercise of declamation, like other boys, but I could not do it. Many a piece did I commit to memory, and recite and rehearse in my own room, over and over again; yet when the day came, when the school collected to hear declamations, when my name was called, and I saw all eyes turned to my seat, I could not raise myself from it. Sometimes the instructors frowned, sometimes they smiled. Mr. Buckminster always pressed and entreated, most winningly, that I would venture. But I never could command sufficient resolution.

While at Dartmouth, Webster "was not only distinguished for his attention to the prescribed studies, but devoted himself to general reading, especially to English history and literature. He took part in the publication of a little weekly newspaper, furnishing selections from books and magazines, with an occasional article from his own pen. He delivered addresses, also, before the college societies, some of which were published."

After leaving college, during his preliminary

legal studies, Webster committed to memory Mr. Ames's celebrated speech on the British treaty. In after life he was heard to say that few things moved him more than the perusal and reperusal of that speech. He also gave much time to general reading, particularly to the study of the Latin classics, English history, and Shakespeare.<sup>1</sup>

How superb were the results of this training is known to all the world. It may be worth while, however, to quote a few paragraphs from Webster's argument in the famous case of *Gibbons vs. Ogden* to illustrate particularly his masterly method of stating with absolute precision and in words perfectly luminous the question before the Court for decision.

On these pleadings the substantial question is raised, Are these laws such as the legislature of New York has a right to pass? If so, do they, secondly, in their operation, interfere with any right enjoyed under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and are they therefore void, as far as such interference extends?

It may be well to state again their general purport and effect, and the purport and effect of the other State laws which have been enacted by way of retaliation.

A steam-vessel, of any description, going to New York, is forfeited to the representatives of Living-

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Daniel Webster*. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1851. Vol. i, pp. xxiii-xxviii.

ston and Fulton, unless she have their license. Going from New York or elsewhere to Connecticut, she is prohibited from entering the waters of that State if she have such license.

If the representatives of Livingston and Fulton in New York carry into effect, by judicial process, the provision of the New York laws, against any citizen of New Jersey, they expose themselves to a statute action in New Jersey for all damages, and treble costs.

The New York laws extend to all steam-vessels; to steam frigates, steam ferry-boats, and all intermediate classes. They extend to public as well as private ships; and to vessels employed in foreign commerce, as well as to those employed in the coasting trade.

The remedy is as summary as the grant itself is ample; for immediate confiscation, without seizure, trial, or judgment, is the penalty of infringement.

In regard to these acts, I shall contend, in the first place, that they exceed the power of the legislature; and, secondly, that, if they could be considered valid for any purpose, they are void still, as against any right enjoyed under the laws of the United States with which they come in collision; and that in this case they are found interfering with such rights.

In marked contrast with such exactness of style, the misuse of language by lawyers and judges has come to be notorious. The following gem is found in Rule 29 of the General Rules of Practice as amended by the Justices

assigned to the Appellate Division in convention held at Albany on October 24, 1899:

On the trial of issues of fact, one counsel only on each side shall examine or cross-examine a witness, but who shall not repeat the answer or answers of such witness at the time he shall be under examination, and one counsel only on each side shall sum up the cause, and he shall not occupy more than one hour, and the testimony, if taken down in writing, shall be written by some person other than the examining counsel; but the judge who holds the court may otherwise order, or dispense with this requirement.

Mr. Justice (now Mayor) Gaynor often called the attention of the profession to its deficiencies in the elements of English, more particularly as these deficiencies were exhibited in pleading. The following are a few quotations from his opinions:

This is an action of ejectment. A scientific and proper complaint would be in so many words and no more that the plaintiffs are the owners in fee of the property and entitled to the immediate possession thereof, and that the defendants are in unlawful possession thereof and unlawfully withhold the same from the plaintiffs. Under this anything and everything tending to show title and right of possession in the plaintiffs could be proved upon the trial. Instead of such a complaint, time honored and established, we have here a long complaint of six typewritten pages which I have had to read sev-

eral times in an effort to understand it. It consists mainly of allegations of fact giving a history of the title, and of claims and disputes over the land in question for many years between various persons [citing case]. At best such alleged facts are evidence which may be given at the trial, and it is an old and wise rule that the evidence should not be pleaded; but I am not even able to see that most of them will be competent evidence.

Irrelevant and redundant matter in a pleading may be struck out upon the motion of the party "aggrieved thereby" (Code Civ. Pro. sec. 545). These allegations are irrelevant in the main, and are certainly redundant, *i.e.*, superfluous, in excess of what is necessary, superabundant, as the definition of the word is. And the defendant is aggrieved by them, for he should not be required to plead to mere items of evidence, and it would be dangerous and difficult and in some instances, it may be, impossible for him to do so.

Also the trial judge should be protected from having such a pleading put before him. Pleading has almost become a lost art in this part of the State, and it seems very difficult to restore it [citing case]. Perhaps some inadvertent observations of judges have helped to make it such, but they should not be conclusive with our educated bar.<sup>2</sup>

This answer [set out above in full] is a sample of the unscientific and degenerate pleadings which have grown to be common in this part of the State, to the great perplexity and annoyance of trial judges. It takes a tedious perusal of them at the trial

<sup>2</sup> Brown v. Fish, 37 Misc. 367.

to find out what they mean, or, as is most usual, that they mean nothing. . . . But this answer seems to be framed on no rule or theory whatever. It seems to have been drawn by a layman, except for its verbiage.

It starts out that "For a first, separate and distinct defence" it (1) "admits" a specified allegation of the complaint, and (2) "denies each and every other allegation in the complaint contained." To say a "first" defence would suffice. To add that it is "separate and distinct" can only be from a habit of useless verbiage. And to call an "admission" a "defence" is strange indeed. An admission is in fact no necessary part of an answer at all. And indeed to call a general denial a "defence" is not much better. In the nomenclature and terminology of pleading a denial is not called a "defence" but a denial. First in an answer comes a denial or denials, and then a "defence," if there be any, *i.e.*, an allegation of new matter which cannot be given in evidence under a denial, but constitutes a defence, and to prove which the burden is on the defendant [citing cases]. . . .

Then comes a so-called "fourth, separate and distinct defence," to which the foregoing also applies. And in conclusion it may be said that the useless use of these words "separate and distinct" does not seem to have induced the pleader to be at all separate or distinct, the pleading being on the contrary a confused and bungling mass.

An answer could be drawn on one sheet of paper which would enable the defendant to give in evidence all that this answer stands for, *viz.*: An answer in

just so many words (1) denying each and every allegation in the complaint contained except that the defendant is a corporation, and then pleading (2) "for a defence" that the publication is true, viz., that the plaintiff did commit adultery with the said [naming the woman] at [giving time and place]. Then if there be any extrinsic fact known to the defendant at the time of the publication, and showing lack of malice, which could not be given in evidence under the general issue it could be pleaded as a second defence, *i. e.*, as a partial defence, *i. e.*, in mitigation of smart money damage.<sup>8</sup>

The pleadings here are a fine sample of the way of pleading which has become the vogue in New York County, and which is such an annoyance to trial judges. It is quite impossible to make out what issue they present without a laborious scrutiny of them. The action is in ejectment. Instead of a complaint in scientific form that the plaintiff is the owner and entitled to the possession of the property, we have a long paper called a complaint which purports to set out the history and chain of the plaintiff's title, which is a matter of evidence and not of pleading. Then comes the answer, more extraordinary still, if that be possible. It starts out by alleging "for a first defence" that the "defendants admit all the allegations in paragraph first of said complaint." What kind of a "defence" is an "admission"? A defence must consist of new matter, *i. e.*, matter outside of what can be proved under a denial, such as a general release, payment, and so

<sup>8</sup> Cruikshank v. Press Publishing Co., 32 Misc. 152.



on. In other words, a defence can only consist of matter which the defendant has to affirmatively prove [citing authorities]. After this fashion this answer goes on to dispose of the complaint; and then it sets out at much length the history and chain of the defendants' title; whereas it should be nothing but a denial of each and every allegation of the complaint, "excepting" etc., or else consist of specific denials of things alleged; and everything not so denied would stand as admitted. Then comes the so-called reply. Of course it was not a case calling for a reply. But the so-called reply is even longer than the complaint or the answer, being nine pages of typewriting. It is another jumble of admissions, denials, and statements of evidence. In view of the fact that the plaintiff is the first offender in these loose and unscientific pleadings, I strike out the reply only for the sake of the trial judge; and I think that for his sake the complaint and answer should also be superseded by scientific pleadings. Then he will know at a glance what the action is for and what the issue is, and will find out the facts by listening to the evidence.<sup>4</sup>

These illustrations ought not to be surprising in view of the attitude of certain lawyers and teachers toward the study of language. In common with various other schemes to discover a royal road to learning, there has arisen much talk about the uselessness of broad, liberal culture for the lawyer, and even of adequate training in his own tongue. It is true that

<sup>4</sup> *Mitnacht v. Hawthorne*, 31 Misc. 378.

the methods of practice have changed, but the need of precise and clear English has grown no less. Indeed, from a financial and commercial point of view, it has grown greater. Millions are diverted this way or that by the turn of a phrase.<sup>5</sup> Lawsuits, long, wearisome, and expensive, are avoided or made necessary by the skill, or lack of it, in the use of words by lawyers. Lawsuits once begun are sometimes lost or won as the language of an argument or a brief is verbose and confusing, or concise and plain.

The truth of the whole matter would seem to be that English and the law are so related that instead of referring to the study of English as a necessary preliminary to the study of the law, it would be more nearly accurate to describe each as an essential part of one study, a study which must continue as long as law shall endure.

<sup>5</sup> This statement is so obviously true that it is unnecessary to cite illustrations. These are numberless, but could not well be set forth in a paper of this kind, as to be understood each would need to be accompanied with a cumbersome statement of facts. A conspicuous example, known of all men, is the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which proposed amendment is so drawn that the Governor of our State tells us it may be held by the Supreme Court of the United States to mean one thing; while our very able Junior Senator assures us it will be held to mean another.

# AN INDEX TO THE NON-BIBLICAL NAMES IN THE ENGLISH MYSTERY PLAYS

BY ANTOINETTE GREENE, PH.D.

The following attempt to bring together for easy reference all the non-Biblical names of persons, animals, and places in the English mystery plays is due to a remark of Professor Hart's that such a collection would be useful.

Without attempting to explain many curious forms, I have made my chief aim the completeness of the mere list. The Early English Text Society's editions of the Towneley, Digby, and scattered plays are supplied with lists which, as some of them say, do not aim at absolute completeness. Hence, although I gladly acknowledge considerable help obtained from these lists, the names have in all cases been gathered from the text itself. Of the names in the three other great cycles, I think no previous collection has been made.

The following list of abbreviations shows also the plays examined and the editions used:

- C. = *Ludus Coventriae*, ed. by J. O. Halliwell, London 1841.  
Printed for the Shakespeare Society.

*Ch.* = *The Chester Plays*, ed. by T. Wright, London, 1843.  
Printed for the Shakespeare Society.

*D.* = *The Digby Plays*. Ed. by F. J. Furnivall. London, 1896. E. E. T. S. Extra Series lxx.

*D. (Herod)* = Herod's Killing of the Children.

*D. (St. P.)* = The Conversion of St. Paul.

*D. (M. M.)* = Mary Magdalene.

*D. (B. of C.)* = The Burial of Christ.

*D. (C. R.)* = Christ's Resurrection.

*E.* = *The Towneley Plays* in G. England's edition, published for the E. E. T. S., London, 1897.

*fol.* = following.

*Gloss.* means that the information is taken from the glossary of the edition quoted.

*H.H.* = *The Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*. Ed. by W. H. Hulme. London, 1907. E. E. T. S. Extra Series c.

*Heading* means the announcement of the speaker.

*ital.* means the stage directions printed in italics on the page cited.

*NC.* = *The Non-Cycle Mystery Plays*, etc. Ed. by O. Waterhouse. London, 1909. E. E. T. S. Extra Series civ.

*NC. (Sh. Pas.)* = Shrewsbury Fragments, Officium Pastorum.

*NC. (Sh. Res.)* = Shrewsbury Fragments, Officium Resurrectionis.

*NC. (Sh. Per.)* = Shrewsbury Fragments, Officium Peregrinorum.

*NC. (Nor.)* = Norwich play: Creation of Eve and the Fall.

*NC. (Newc.)* = Newcastle play: Noah's Ship.

*NC. (Dub.)* = Dublin play: Abraham's Sacrifice.

*NC. (Br.)* = Brome play: Abraham's Sacrifice.

*NC. (Croxt.)* = Croxton Play of the Sacrament.

*Nar. of Jos.* = The apocryphal Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea.

*Nat. of M.* = The apocryphal Gospel of the Nativity of Mary.

*Nic.* = The apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, trans. Walker.

*Note* means that the information is taken from the explanatory notes of the edition cited.

*Prot. of J.* = The apocryphal *Protevangelium of James*.

*Ps.-M.* = The apocryphal *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*.

*Ref. to* = Referred to in the following instance.

*STCo.* = *The Shearmen and Tailors' Pageant*. In *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*. Ed. by H. Craig, London, 1902, E. E. T. S. Extra Series lxxxviii.

*T.* = *The Towneley Mysteries*, published by the Surtees Society, London, no date [1836].

*WCo.* = *The Weavers, Pageant*. In the same vol. with *STCo.*

*Y.* = *The York Plays*, ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith, Oxford, 1885.

\* prefixed to name or place reference means the character is—or is in the case cited—a *dramatis persona*.

The usual references to books of the Bible are given.

The translation of the apocryphal books of the New Testament used is that by Alexander Walker, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1890.

*The Legend of the Three Kings of Cologne* from the Ms. Harl. 1704, fol. 49, vo., is printed at the end of the second volume of *The Chester Plays*, pp. 266-304.

**ABYSAKAR** See **YSAKAR** and fol.

\***ABIȜACHAR** (Episcopus) C. xiv, 134 ital. Cf. *Abiathar* Ps.-M.

\***AFFRAUNT** (Quartus miles—at tomb) C. xxxiv.

**AGINARE** (the land of the third mage) *STCo.* 25, 727. See **COLEYN**.

**ALAPYE** (a country) D. (M.M.) 60, 158. *Alapalli* or *Aleppi* in India?

**ALEXANDER**, stronger than NC. (Crox.) 68, 352.

**ALYCE** (mother of Tercius pastor?) T. xii, 90, 30 (E., app. not considered a proper name, 108, 260).

**ALMAYN** (Germany) NC. (Crox.) 57, 17.

**ALMONYE** C. xxii, 210, 22. Germany rather than the Almon of Josh. xxi, 18, 1 Chr. vi, 60?

AMERAUNT (Secundus miles—at the tomb)  
C. xxxiv. *Amorawnt* 339, 3; *Amaraunt*  
340, 5.

AMYS (called to witness against Jesus) Y.  
xxxiii, 324, 116. Not in the list in Nic. i,  
where his place seems taken by *Semes*.  
In Nic. ii, *Amnes* (ms. var. *Amese*) defends  
Jesus. W. H. Hulme (*The Harrowing of*  
*Hell*, E.E.T.S. Extra Series c, Introd.  
p. xx.) says, "probably an invention of  
the dramatist."

ANABALLE (a suicide) T. xxv, 246, 27 (E.  
296, 106). Prob. Hannibal.

ANNA or ANNE (the mother of Mary the Vir-  
gin). C. Prol. 5, 16; \*viii, 70, 10; \*ix;  
\*x; xx, 195, 3; T. xi, 81, 23 (E. 98, 23);  
Y. \*xlvii, 492, 37; D. (Herod) 1, 2, 9,  
18; *seynt Anne* 2, 51; 22, 550; 23, 558.

ARABIA (the land of the second mage, Melchior)  
Ch. viii, 159, 2; *Arabum* 159, ital.; *Araby*  
T. xiv, 122, 39 (E. 144, 120); 128, 15 (151,  
363); Y. xvii, 126, 16; *Arraby* (ma genot  
named) STCo. 25, 726. Cf. COLEYN.

ARAGON C. xxii, 210, 22; NC. (Crox.) 54,  
11; 56, 60; 57, 7; 58, 50; 63, 187 (*Arigon*);  
65, 261; 87, after 927.

A RACALI Ch. vi, 117, 25 = *Ara Cæli*, 'Saint  
Mary of the Altar of Heaven,' an old  
church at Rome.

ARCHAGE (one of the lands of the third mage,  
Jasper) C. xvii, 162, 29; (offered to Jesus  
by Satan) C. xxii, 210, 14.

ARCHAS (offered to Jesus by Satan) C. xxii, 210, 22.

ARCHEDEFELL Y. xxxvii, 390, 308. "Achitophel" Gloss. But at least influenced by the idea *arch-devil*?

ARCHITRECLYN, at the feste of (*i.e.*, at Cana) T. xxii, 207 (E. "ruler of the feast, mistaken for a proper name," 248, 152).

\*ARFAXAT (Primus miles—at tomb) C. xxxiv. *Arphaxat* 339, 4. The name itself is Biblical, cf. Gen. x, 22, etc.; Lu. iii, 36.

\*ARFEKE ("a Sarazyn" and "masangere") C. xxv, 245 ital.; 246, 13.

\*ARISTORIUS (Christianus mercator) NC. (Crox.) 57 ff. *Arystory* 57, 9; 67, ital.; *Arystori* 62, ital.; *Aristori* 62, ital.; *Aristorye* 63, 186; *Arystorius* 83, 770; 65, 254.

ARMONYE, the hyllys of (Armenia) T. iii, 32, 20 (E. 37, 466).

ARNWAY, Sir John, knighte Ch. Prol. 1, 5; 3, 11. See Intro. xvi, xviii.

ATHUS (Pilate's father, from etym. *Pila* + *Atus*) T. xxiv, 233, 19. See list of errata. (E. 279, 19 *atus*). *Atus* Y. xxx, 271, 14, 15.

AUSTYNE (Saint Augustine) Ch. xii, 210, 23.

AVE (Salutation, pun on *Eva*) C. xi, 112, 15.

BABWELL MYLL (name of a mill) NC. (Crox.) 74, 541.

BAGGELEY, JOHN (a master of the "taylars and sharmen") STCo. 31, after 900.

BAKBYTERE (Secundus detractor) C. xiv, 132,  
14; 133, 5.

BAKERE See BETTE.

BALACHER Ch. xxiv, 174, 5. Name of fiend  
or = *Bachelor*?

\*BALTAZARE (first mage) C. xvii, 162, 5.  
*Balsare* Ch. ix, 171, 3; (third mage)  
*Balthesar* T. xiv, 123, 34 (E. 145, 159);  
*Balthasar* (second mage) STCo. 25, 726;  
26, 751. See COLEYN.

BELFAGOUR (demon) D. (M.M.) 82, 725.

BELLE See BETRYS.

BERTYLMEW THE BOCHERE C. xiv, 131, 116.

BETRYS BELLE C. xiv, 131, 113.

BETTE THE BAKERE C. xiv. 131, 124.

BLACKON, Butter that boughte was in Ch. vii,  
123, 7.

BLOMEFYLDE, MYLES (poet) D. (St. P.) 27,  
heading.

BOCHERE See BERTYLMEW.

\*BOOSRAS (Primus pastor) C. xvi, 156, 123.  
*Boosdras* 158, 14.

BOUTYNG THE BROWSTERE C. xiv, 132, 3.

BRABAN (Brabant) NC. (Crox.) 57, 18; 72,  
453; 73, 486.

BRENTBERECLY See BRUNDYCHE.

BREWBARRET (Cain's servant = stir up strife)  
Y. vii. Note, "later addition."

BRYTAYN (Britain) NC. (Crox.) 57, 18.

BROWSTERE See BOUTYNG.



\*BRUNDYCHE, Master (M[agister] Phisicus)  
NC. (Crox.) 73, 493; 87; *Brendyche* 72,  
453; *Brentberecly* 74, 529.

BURNELL (Balaam's ass) Ch. v, 84, 25; 85, 21.

CADACE wolfe C. xxv, 241, 27. = "Cadiz."  
Gloss.

CAKELERE See KYTT.

CALABERE C. xxv, 242, 27. = "cloth of Cala-  
bria." Gloss. *Calabre* NC. (Crox.) 57, 18.

\*CALCAS (Herod's herald) STCo. 19, 521.

CALYCE (Calais) NC. (Crox.) 73, 510.

CAPYLL, oure hen T. xiii, 99, 36 (E. 118, 67).  
Imitative, as "cackle?"

CATON (= *Cato*) C. xx, 189, 22. T. xii, 94,  
17 (E. 112, 392).

CATTLYNGIS (Catalauni, inhabitants of 15th  
cent. Luxembourg) NC. (Crox.) 58, 26.

\*CECUS (a blind man) Ch. xiii; Y. xxv.

CEECYLLE (= Sicily) T. xvi, 141, 10 (E. 167,  
44 *Cecylle*).

CENACLE C. Prol. 17, 19. The upper room of  
the Last Supper, in Vulgate, e.g., *cænacu-  
lum* Mk. xiv, 15.

CHESTER ABBEY Ch. Pro. 1, 7.

CHESTER, the plays of Ch. Pro. Heading.

CHRISTIANITIE Ch. iv, 61, 26. *Christiantie*  
xxv, 184, 20.

\*CLAUDUS (a lame man) G. xxv, 212, 358-375;  
213, 380-391. = Lat. adj. "lame."

\*CLENNES (one of Mary's maidens in the tem-  
ple) C. ix, 86, 12. See MEDITACION.

\*CLEO[PHE] (*Maria Cleophas, i.e., mother of Cleophas*) Y. xxxvi, 364, 176. D. (B. of C.) 192, 612; (C. R.) 202, 918 (*Mary Magdalene's "sister"!*) Cf. Nic. xi. Cf. also Joh. xix, 25.

CLYDE See CONWAYE.

COK CRANE C. xiv, 131, 121.

COLETT CRANE C. xiv, 131, 117.

COLEYN, the Kynges of. C. Prol. 8, 5. The kings of *Cologne*, the three magi in mediæval legend. Cf. The Legend of the Three Kings of Cologne, Ms. Harl. 1704 fol. 49, printed in notes, Here *Melchior* is king of *Nube*, *Arabie*, *Baltazar* of *Godolye* and *Saba*, *Jasper* of *Taars*. Countries in Ps. lxxii, 10, 15 are Tarshish, the isles, Sheba, Seba. *Coleyn* NC. (Crox.) 57, 19.

COLKOTE See TOLKOTE.

COLLE (one of the shepherds—first?) T. xiii, 110, 6, 19 (E. 130, 436, 449). But cf. *Parkyn* etc., 113, 278 (E. 134, 562). Y. xv, 119, 39; 120, 54 (name of the third shepherd). *Col(le* (*be lechys man*) NC. (Crox.) 71, 445.

\*COLLE CRAKECRUST C. xiv, 131, 123.

\*COMPASSYON (one of Mary's maidens in the temple) C. ix, 86, 12. See MEDITACION.

\*CONTEMPLACIO (an expositor) C. viii; ix, 79, 89; xi, 105-106; xiii, 124-5, 129-30; C. xxix, 289.

\*CONTRYSSYON (one of Mary's maidens in the temple) C. ix, 86, 12. See MEDITACION.

CONWAYE unto Clyde Ch. vii, 119, 5.

COPE See JAK.

COPYN, Kyng (satirical term flung by Cayphas at Jesus) T. xxi, 194, 21. "A coppin is a certain quantity of worsted yarn wound on a spindle and the spindle then extracted." Gloss. (E. 233, 166.) *Coppyn, sentt*, D. (M. M.) 99, 1151.

CORBETT, HEV (= Hugh) (one of the masters of the "taylars and sharmen") STCo., 31, after 900.

CORDEWAN C. xxv, 241, 19. "Cordovan, a Spanish leather from Corduba." Gloss.

\*COSDRAM (Tertius miles—at the tomb) C. xxxiv. *Cosdran* 342, 9.

\*COVETYSE (one of the seven deadly sins) D. (M.M.) 66, heading.

CRAKECRUST See COLLE.

CRANE See COK and COLETT.

CRAUENER See GRAUENER.

CROKYD THORNE (a tree known as a landmark) T. xiii, 109, 6. See Preface, p. xv. (E. 129, 403.)

CROO, ROBERT (corrector of the play, March 14, 1534) STCo. 31, after 900; (translator of the play, March 2, 1534) WCo. 70, after 1192. Cf. Appendix 89, 8; 99, 31; 100, 12-13; 100, 24; 101, 18; 102, 6.

CROXSTON NC. (Crox.) 56, 74. Cf. Introd. p. lxiii.

CURIOSITY (a dandy) D. (M. M.), 73 heading; also spelled *coryoste*, *corioste*, *coryossyte* 74, 511; called *pryde* 75, 550.

CYRUS (the father of Mary Magdalene) D. (M.M.) 57, 55; *syrys* 56, after 48.

\*DANDY CURIOSITY D. (M. M.) 73 heading.

DATAN (called to witness against Jesus) Y. XXXIII, 323, 114. Cf. Nic. I, 1. The name itself is Biblical. Cf. Ps. cvi, 17, etc.

DAVY DRYDUST C. XIV, 131, 121.

\*DAW (Tercius pastor) T. XIII, 101, 3 (E. 121, 154).

\*DECLARACION (priest appointed to teach Mary) C. IX, 86, 26. See DYVYNACION.

DEEY (= river *Dee*) Ch. Prol. 3, 29. *Dde* Ch. VII, 8, 4.

\*DELIBERACION (priest appointed to teach Mary) C. ix, 86, 24. See DYVYNACION.

\*DENMARKE (given by Antichrist to the second king) Ch. XXIV, 159, 3. *Denmark* NC. (Crox.) 57, 20.

\*DETERMYNACION (priest appointed to teach Mary) C. IX, 86, 26. See DYVYNACION.

\*DEVOCION (priest appointed to teach Mary) C. IX, 86, 24. See DYVYNACION.

\*DEWCUS (Primus dux) Y. XXXI, 301, 256.

DYLEXCION (priest appointed to teach Mary) C. IX, 86, 24. See DYVYNACION.

DYSCRESSYON (priest appointed to teach Mary)

C. ix, 86, 24. See DIVYNACION.

DYSMAS (the believing thief) C. xxxii, 315,

5; 316, 5. Cf. Nic. I, x, II, x. (*Dismas*)  
and Nar of Jos. I, III (*Demas*).

DIVYNACION (one of the "sefne prestys" to  
whom was given the charge of Mary in  
the temple) C. ix, 86, 26. Not spoken of  
in the apocryphal gospels which give the  
account of the maidens.

\*DOLOR NC. (Nor. B.) 17, 111.

DOLPHIN, prince of the dead NC. (Newc.)  
25, 204.

DON (a horse) T. II, 18, 19 (E. 21, 438);  
is in the myre T. xxx, 310, 22 (E. 373,  
205).

DONE (= *Don*) See RONDALL.

DONNYNG (a horse) T. II, 8, 32 (E. 10, 32).

DORDREDE (Dordrecht) NC. (Crox.) 57, 20.

DOTTINOULE (a dog) Ch. VII, 125, 16.

DOUVR (Dover) NC. (Crox.) 73, 510.

DOWN (a horse) T. II, 8, 29 (E. 10, 29).

DRAGON *be dere* (used as the name of a fiend)  
D. (M. M.) 102, 1243.

DRYDUST See DAVY.

DUCH AX (Dutch) T. 311, 19, 17 (E. 374, 242).

ELIZ[ABETH] (queen) NC. 11 Heading to Nor. B.

\*ENVY (one of the seven deadly sins) D. (M.  
M.) 68ff.; NC. (Nor. B.) 17, 136.

ERACLEA (Heraclea, here a city in Aragon)  
NC. (Crox.) 54, 12; 57, 6; 59, 58; 60, 114.

ERLONDE (Ireland) C. xxii, 210, 25.

FARRE ("Farøe?") NC. (Crox.) 58, 22.

FETYSE See GYLLE.

FLASCON, Mownt T. xvi, 141, 12 (E. 167, 46).

FLECCHERE See PHELYPP.

\*FLESCH, kyng of þe D. (M.M.) 66 heading, ff.; *flych* p. 75, directions.

FRANCE Ch. xii, 209, 23; FRAUNCE Ch. xiv, 17, 16; *ffraunce* xxii, 210, 19; *France* NC. (Crox.) 58, 22.

FRENSCHE, after the F. gyse C. xii, 118, 31; *Franche* (the language) T. xvi, 153, 9 (E. 181, 513 *fraunsch*).

\*FROWARD (a servant) T. xxi; *Frawrord* 199, 13 (E. 239, 345).

\*FRUYSSYON (one of Mary's maidens in the temple) C. ix, 86, 13. See MEDITACION.

GALYS, the towne of (Calais) C. xxii, 210, 23.

GALYS (Galicia) NC. (Crox.) 57, 15; *galles*, wyn of D. (M.M.) 72, 478.

\*GAMALYEL (accuses and taunts Jesus) C. xxviii; *Gamaliell* (called to witness against Jesus) Y. xxxiii, 323, 114. Cf. Nic. I, i. The name itself is Biblical; cf. Acts v, 34; Nu. i, 10, etc.

GEFFREY GYLE C. xiv, 131, 9.

GENE (Genoa) NC. (Crox.) 57, 15.

GENEWAYE (Geneva?) NC. (Crox.) 57, 15.

GESTAS See JESMAS.

GYB (Primus pastor) T. XII, 86, 2, 3 (E. 102, 82, 83); T. XIII, 114, 22 (E. 135, 590).  
See fol.

GYBON WALLER (Primus pastor) T. XIII, 113, 27 (E. 134, 562).

GYG (= *Gyb?*) T. XII, 88, 17 (E. 105, 169).

GYLE, Syr (addressed to Mak) T. XIII, 109, 11 (E. 129, 408). = Guile?

GYLE, Sant T. XXVII, 276, 30 (E. 334, 278).  
Evid. Saint Giles.

GYLE See GEFREY.

GILLE (Noah's wife) T. III, 25, 38 (E. 29, 219); *Gylle* (Mak's wife) \*T. XIII. "Short for *Gillian*." Gloss. But see JELOTT.

GYLLE FETYSE C. XIV, 131, 118.

GILLE, GYLLE See also JAK(KE).

\*GLOTENY (one of the seven deadly sins) D. (M.M.) 67, heading.

GOBBETTE ONE THE GREENE (Preco) Ch. IV, 57, 13.

GOG "perversion of God." Gloss. T. II, 12, 7 (E. 14, 172).

GOLD EBRYSON D. (Herod) 1, 14.

GOTHAM, the foles of. "A parish in Nottinghamshire . . . The simplicity of its inhabitants is said to have been stimulated to avert a king's anger." *Cent. Book of Names*. T. XII, 88, 29 (E. 106, 180).

GRAUENER, THOMAS ("consul") STCo. 31, before songs. Note: Ms. M. has *Crauener*.

- GREGORYE (*i.e.*, Pope G.) Ch. XII, 206, 28; 207, 14.
- GREYN-HORNE (an ox) T. II, 8, 25 (E. 10, 25).
- \*GROBBE (shipman's boy) D. (M.M.) 99, 1153 and ff., named 119, 1717; 126, 1876.
- GRW (the Greek language) C. XIX, 179, 22.
- \*GRYMBALDE (Primus miles) Ch. x, 174, 4; in Ms. H. 2124 Secundus miles is *Sir Grymball Launcher deppe*; in Ms. H. 2124 Primus miles is *Sir Waradrake*. Note.
- GRYME (horse, "prob. black") T. II, 8, 25 (E. 10, 25).
- GUDEBOURE Bery me in. T. II, 16, 29 (E. 19, 367).
- GYLDRE (Guelderland) NC. (Crox.) 58, 25; *gyldyr*, wyn of D. (M. M.) 72, 478.
- GYLLE See GILLE.
- HALTON, ale of. Ch. VII, 123, 9.
- HAMBOROWHE (Hamburg) NC. (Crox.) 58, 24.
- \*HANCKEN (Primus pastor) Ch. VII, 122, 10, 11; 124, 15; 128, 10.
- \*HARRY RUSKYNE (Tutivillus) T. XXX, 319, 1 (E. 384, 535).
- \*HARVYE (Secundus pastor) Ch. VII, 120, 18; (spoken by Quartus Judeus to one of his companions) Ch. XVI, 47, 21.
- \*HAWKYN (priest's clerk) D. (M. M.) 99, 1143.
- HELY (written *kely* and cor. on p. xix = *Ely*), good ayлле of T. XII, 90, 15 (E. 108, 244 *hely*).



HERRE (Harry) See PYXLEY.

HEV See CORBETT.

HEWYT, JAMES (name after second song)  
WCo. 71. Cf. references in the Weavers'  
account-book given in appendix II: 102,  
18 *James Huyt*; 107, 14-16 and 45 *James  
Hewet(t)*.

HOB-OVER-THE-WALL T. II, 15, 2 (E. 17, 297).

HOLOND, A shert of fyn. C. xxv, 241, 23.  
*Holond* NC. (Crox.) 58, 24.

HOMERE T. xvi, 144, 40 (E. 172, 202).

HONGARYE (given by Antichrist to the third  
king) Ch. xxiv, 159, 3.

HORBERY (= Harbury, a village near Wake-  
field. Cf. p. xv.) T. xiii, 110, 26 (E. 130,  
455).

\*HORNE, JOHN (Secundus pastor) T. xii, 86,  
4 (E. 103, 84); T. xiii, 113, 28 (134, 563).

HUDDE (Secundus pastor?) Y. xv, 119, 37;  
120, 46. Printed as an exclamation, but  
both times addressed to the same shepherd,  
and cf. COLLE, TUDDE.

HYSE, SANTE Ch. xxv, 189, 5.

YNDE, THOMAS OF (Thomas, the apostle) C.  
Prol. 17, 2. *Indas lycorys* NC. (Crox.)  
60, 104.

YNGLAND T. xiii, 107, 28 (E. 127, 353).

YPOTAN (one of the lands of the third mage  
Jasper.) C. xvii, 162, 29.

\*YSAKAR (Episcopus) C. viii. *Isaker*, 73 ital.;  
*Isakar*, C. ix, 80, 31; *Ysakare*, 88, 30;  
*Isakare*, 89, 7. Cf. Nat. of M. I: *Isaschar*.

\*YSAKAR (episcopus) C. x, 90 "Tunc venit ab Isakar episcopus." Note: "Sic in ms. pro *Abysakar*." But same man as in previous play; and *Isaschar* in Nat. of M. I.

\*YSODYR (Presbiter) NC. (Crox.) first named 62 ital.; *Isydor*, 62, 153; *Isodyr*, 65, 243; *Isoder*, 65, 264.

JACOBI See MARIA.

\*JAK (Garcio) T. xii.

JAK: Hors man *Jak* cope T. xii, 84, 17 (E. 101, 17). *Jak* at the Style C. xiv, 131, 111. For *Jak* nor for Gille T. iii, 28, 38 (E. 33, 336); *Jakke* and Gylle C. xxxv, 340, 10.

JAMES See HEWYT.

JANE, fayr C. xiv, 131, 118.

JANNENSE (realm) C. xxii, 210, 15.

JANETTES of the stewys T. xxx, 314, 14 (E. 378, 350).

JARUS Y. xxxiii, 323, 113. (Called to witness against Jesus.) Cf. Nic. I, 1, *Jairus*.

\*JASPER (third mage) C. xvii, 163, 3; (second) Ch. ix, 171, 1; *Jaspar* (first) T. xiv, 123, 3 (E. 144, 126); *Jaspar* (first) STCo. 26, 750; *Jespar* 25, 725. See COLEYN.

\*JAZDUN NC. (Crox.) 60, 110; 61, 129 ff.; *Jasdon*, 67, 305, list on p. 87.

\*JAZUN NC. (Crox.) 60, 110; *Jasun*, 61, 125 ff.; *Jason*, 67, 305, list on p. 87. The name itself is Biblical; cf. Acts xvii, 5.

JELIAN JOWKE T. xxx, 313, 23 (E. *Jelian Jowke* 377, 317 = Gillian Clown).

JELOTT (Mak's wife) T. xiii, 106, 26 (E. 122, 316).

JENYSE (place) NC. (Crox.) 57, 15.

JEROME, Sainte Ch. xxiii, 147, 21.

\*JESMAS (unbelieving thief) C. xxxii, 315, 5; 316, 7. Nic. I, x, II, x; Nar. of Jos. I and III have *Gestas: m* borrowed from *Dysmas*?

\*JOACHYM C. viii, ix, x. Ref. to C. Prol. 5, 16; xx, 195, 3; T. xi, 81, 22 (E. 98, 22). Cf. Nat. of M., Ps.-M.; NC. (Crox.) 68, 331.

JOHANES See WHITEHEAD.

JOHN JURDON C. xiv 131, 9.

\*JOHN, Sir (one of the soldiers, prob. the first) Ch. x, 184, 26.

JOHN See ARNWAY, BAGGELEY, HORNE, PARFRE.

\*JOHNS C. viii, 73, 22.

JONATHAS (the Jewe) NC. (Crox.) 57 heading; 59, 69 ff.; *Jhonathas* 62, 165.

JOUIS Y. xvi, 121, 2.

JUDAS Y. xxxiii 323, 113 (called to witness against Jesus). Cf. Nic. I, i.

JURDON See JOHN.

\*JUSTICIA (one of the four daughters of God) C. xi. *Ryghtwysnes* 108, 6; *Ryght* 109, 2.

KATE KELLE C. xiv, 131, 115.

KELY See HELY.

KEMP TOWNE T. xvi, 141, 13. Kempten, i.e., Campodunum? (E. 167, 47.)

KENT, SANT THOMAS OF T. XIII, 110, 28  
(E. 131, 458).

KENYE, Dame Ch. VII, 122, 8. Wife of Ter-  
cius Pastor?

KYRCHON (woman's name) D. (M.M.) 99,  
1161.

KYTT CAKELERE C. XIV, 131, 117.

LACHBORUN (Luxemburg) NC. (Crox.) 58, 33.

LANCASTER SHIRE, a jannacke of Ch. VII, 123,  
12.

\*LANCLER = Sir *Lancler depe* (Secundus miles)  
Ch. x, 174, 4 (In Ms. H. *Launclet*. Note);  
*Lanscler depe*, 175, 7 (In Ms. H. *Launder*);  
Sir *Lanchler depe*, 179, 14. See also GRYM-  
BALDE.

LATINE (the language) Ch. XXV, 196, 15.

LECHERY (one of the seven deadly sins) D. (M.  
M.) 70, 422, etc. see LUXURIA.

LEMYNG ("an ox beaming"), T. II, 9. 6 (E 10,  
42 "a horse").

LETYCE LYTYLTRUST C. XIV, 131, 122.

LEUI (called to witness against Jesus) Y.  
XXXII, 324, 115. Cf. Nic. I.

LEUYATHAN, *þe fend callyd* NC. (Crox.) 83,  
803. This occurs in Job XLI, 1, but possi-  
bly not as a proper name.

\*LEYON (one of two "temperal jewgys") C-  
XXV, 246, 2; *Leon*, l. 9; *Lyon*, l. 15; *Leyon*,  
XXVII, XXVIII.

LYERE See LUCE.

\*LIGHTBORNE (supposed tr. of *Lucifer*) Ch. i, 10, 11.

\*LYGHTFOTE (Nuncius) T. ix, 68, 20 (E. 81, 97).

LIMBO Y. xxxvii, 383, 187; *Lyombo*, T. xxv, 246, 16 (E. 296, 96); 249, 5 (E. 300, 213).

LYTYLTRUST See LETYCE.

LOLLAR, master (= *Lollard*) T. xxx, 310, 32 (E. 374, 213).

LOMBARDYE (given by Antichrist to the first king) Ch. xxiv, 159, 2; *Lumbardye*, xxii, 210, 20. *Lombardy* NC. (Crox.) 58, 33.

LONDON Ch. vii, 145, 7; xvi, 47, 7.

\*LONGEUS C. xxxiv (*Longeys* 334 ital. etc.); Ch. xvii, 66 (*Longyus*, 66 heading, *Longes*, 66, 11; *Longius*, 66 ital.); T. xxiii; Y. xxxvi, 368, 291. Ref. to in C. Prol. 14, 20 and T. xxviii, 289, 16; 291, 18 (E. 348, 259; 351, 314). The blind knight who pierces Jesus with a spear. In Nic. x. in some mss. but not spoken of as blind. Cf. Boll. *Acta SS.*, Mar. ii, 384.)

LOUTH (the town Louth) Ch. vii, 145, 7.

LUCAS (called to witness against Jesus) Y. xxxiii, 324, 115. Nic. I, i. does not include this name. W. H. Hulme in *The Harrowing of Hell*, etc., E. E. T. S. Extra Series 100, Introd. p. xx. says, "prob. an invention of the dramatist."

LUCE LYERE C. xiv, 130, 22.

\*LUCIFER C. i (21, 10 *Lucyfere*; 21, 19, *Lucyfer*); xxv, 239, 1, (l. 16 "berere of lyth"; Ch. i

(*Lucifier*); xxv, 239, 1; T. i; Y. i. Referred to in C. Prol. 2, 3 (*Lucyfer*); xxii, 207, 1 (*Lucyfer*); xi, 106, 24 (*Locyfer*); Ch. Prol. 3, 19; vii, 141, 10 (*Lucifier*); x, 186, 21 and xi, 206, 26 and xviii, 81, 18 and xxii, 129, 19 and xxiv, 174, 4 (*Lucifier*); T. iii, 20, 16 (E. 23, 16); xx, 184, 27 (E. 221, 530); 187, 18 and xxv, 246, 33 (E. 296, 113) (*Lucyfer*); xvi, 143, 21 (E. 170, 143) (*Lucyfer*); Y. xxxi, 294, 56; 310, 106; H. H. Auchinleck ms. 13, 151; D. (St. P.) 43, 413 (*Lucyfer*).

LUMBARDYE See LOMBARDYE.

LUXURIA (one of the seven deadly sins) D. (M.M.) 67 ff.; *lechery*, 70, 422, etc.; *luxurya*, 71, heading. *Luxsurya*, 72, heading.

LYN (town of Lynn) T. xxiv, 236, 34 (E. 283, 155).

MABYLE, fayr C. xiv, 131, 110.

MADROKE STCo. 17, 490. "Magog and Madroke did I (*i.e.*, Herod) confownde."

MAHOUND(E (= Mahomet), also spelled *Mahownd(e)*, *Mahown(e)* and *Mahond(e)*. The name is used in nearly all ways in which we commonly use the name of God. By M. C. xviii, 164, 7; xix, 185, 29; xxx, 304, 7; Ch. vi, 103, 10; viii, 156, 25; 158, 15; 161, 12; x, 178, 5; xxv, 197, 15; 199, 5; 200, 3; T. ix, 66, 9 (E. 78, 9); 71, 18 (E. 85, 226); xvi, 143, 5 (E. 169, 127); 151, 4 (E. 179, 429); xx, 136, 44 (E. 224, 631); 187,

14 (E. 224, 645); xxii, 203, 3 (E. 243, 3); 215, 3 (E. 257, 408); xxiii, 217, 8 (E. 259, 44.); xxiv, 234, 4 (E. 280, 50); 236, 43, 44 (E. 284, 164, 5); 239, 26 (E. 287, 267); Y. xix, 147, 15; xxxiv, 338, 34; D. (Herod) 6, 127; 12, 291; 14, 341; STCo. 19, 528; 28, 805. *By M.'s blood* T. ix, 69, 28 (E. 82, 148); xx, 174, 42 (E. 207, 116); 175, 5 (E. 208, 124); 175, 38 (E. 209, 157); xxii, 209, 32 (E. 251, 238); xxiii, 216, 14 (E. 258, 14); xxiv, 242, 29 (E. 291, 370); Y. xxxi, 301, 245; xxxii, 311, 125; D. (Herod) 14, 343; (M.M.) 100, 1175; *for M.'s blood* Y. xxxiv, 338, 34; xxxv, 351, 61; 470, 155; *by the bloode þat M. bledde* Y. xxxi, 292, 8; 299, 204; *by M.'s bones* T. xxiv, 234, 4 (E. 290, 331); D. (M.M.) 60, 142; *M.'s own yee-lyds* D. (M.M.) 102, 1237; *M.'s own nekke bon* D. (M.M.) 102, 1233; *M. þe body* D. (M.M.) 102, 1243; *by M.'s might* T. ix, 69, 42 (E. 83, 162); xxii, 214, 22 (E. 257, 390); Y. xxix, 264, 267; *for M.'s peyne* Y. xliv, 467, 73. *For M.* Y. xxix, 254, 267; xxxv, 351, 129; *for M.'s sake* T. xx, 186, 44 (E. 224, 631); D. (Herod) 6, 136; *by M.'s grace*. D. (M.M.) 101, 1209. *As M. me mende* T. xxvi, 267, 13 (E. 323, 557); *I mak avow to M.* C. xl, 395, 23; T. xxiv, 235, 21 (E. 282, 97). *The blyssyng of M.* T. xxvi, 267, 18 (E. 323, 562); Y. xxxii, 311, 125; *M. save you (and se)* Ch. viii, 152, 5; T. ix, 69,

7, 31; (E. 82, 127; 83, 151); T. xiv, 126, 1 (E. 148, 259); 127, 34 (E. 151, 337); xxvi, 265, 31 (E. 321, 494); Y. xvii, 129, 101-2; xix, 148, 73; 154, 242; *M. be with thee* Ch. x, 174, 1; *M. kepe you* Ch. x, 173, 5; *M. the shelde* T. xiv, 127, 32 (E. 151, 235); *M. you looke* T. 128, 7 (E. 151, 355); *M. meng you with myrthe* T. xvi, 140, 1 (E. 166, 1); *M. mensk you with mayn* T. 238, 24 (E. 286, 226); *M. menske you with myght* Y. xxx, 291, 543; *you bryng where he is lord* T. xvi, 151, 33 (E. 179, 458-9); *M. wyse the on thi way* T. ix, 69, 2 (E. 82, 122); *M. let you never thryfe* T. xiv, 130, 32 (E. 155, 467-8). *My lord M., I praythe* D. (Herod) 16, 385; *I pray god M.* D. (M.M.) 99, 1168; *pray to M.* C. xxii, 207, 7; *Heyf up youre hertes unto M.* T. viii, 65, 15 (E. 77, 412); Y. xi, 91, 401; *Helpe M.!* Y. xxxvii, 369, 343. *M. This ston Thou kepe* C. xxxv, 343, 19. *A Mahowne!* T. xvi, 152, 11 (E. 473, 180). *Sweth M., remembyr me* D. (M.M.) 101, 1221. *As thou luffes M.* T. ix, 70, 45 (E. 84, 208); *That holdis of M.* Y. xix, 155, 277; *M.'s lawys* C. xxix, 290, 20; 291, 11; D. (M.M.) 130, 1987; *Leccyo mahowndys* D. (M.M.) 100, 1186. *M. and me*, etc. T. xiv, 120 5 (E. 141, 15); 121, 11 (E. 142, 47-8); Y. xix, 147, 19; *M. that is curtes and heynd* T. ix, 71, 30 (E. 85, 238). *Myght of M.* T. xxiv, 239, 29 (E. 287, 270); *M. of*



*mytes most* D. (M.M.) 101, 1210. *M. most myghty in castels and towres* T. xxiv, 243, 35 (E. 292, 410); *kyng by grace of M.* T. xvi, 140, 10 (E. 166, 10). *By M. in heaven* T. xvi, 143, 5 (E. 129, 167); *trew kyng M.* D. (M.M.) 60, 143; *M. Oure God* T. xiv, 121, 120 (E. 142, 58); *M. that weldys water and wynde* T. xiv, 121, 34 (E. 142, 71); *M. is god werraye* Y. xix, 147, 35; *God alle weldand* T. ix, 71, 18 (E. 85, 226); *my God and most of myght M.*, Y. xvii, 129, 101; *bat is so mykyll of myth* D. (M.M.) 98, 1140; *my mayster, mightye M.* Ch. xviii, 82, 14. *Othere God ye worship none, Bot M.* T. xiv, 122, 1 (E. 143, 82). *Saint M.* T. xiv, 120, 27 (E. 141, 27); C. xxxv, 343, 7; D. (Herod) 14, 335; D. (M.M.) 101, 1205; *M. my sovereyn Savyour* C. xxix, 291, 11. *Reysemelyng M.* STCo. 18, 516; *his cosyn M.* T. xvi, 141, 20 (E. 167, 54); *the graunser of..M.* T. xx, 172, 12 (E. 204, 12). *M. whelpe* C. xxxv, 343, 13. *Were he M.* Y. xxxi, 302, 291. *Mahown's for evermore* T. xxii, 204, 7 (E. 244, 39 has *mahowns* pl. = gods). *Be Machomete* NC. (Crox.) 61, 129; *by Machomyth* 69, 373; *Machomyght be with you* 65, 252; *almyghty Machomet.* . . *bryng me to thy hyhe see* 59, 69.

**MAHOMETES** (=idols) Ch. x, 181, 11; *Mawmentes* D. (Herod) 10, 243.

- \***MAK** (the sheep-thief) T. XIII.
- \***MALCHUS** (presumably not the captor of Jesus)  
N C. (Crox.) 61, 137 ff.; *Malcus* 70, 411;  
*Malchas* 76, 593 ff. and list p. 87.
- MALKYN MYLKEDOKE** C. XIV, 131, 10.
- MALLE** (an ox) T. II, 9, 5 (E. 10, 41).
- MALMSINE**, a pottill full of (Malmsey) Ch. III,  
53, 17; *Malmeseyn* (wynne of) D. (M.M.)  
72, 476.
- MANTUA** T. XVI, 141, 13 (E. 167, 47).
- \***MARCYLLE**, KYNG OF (Marseilles) D. (M. M.)  
90 heading; *mercyll* 98 heading; *marcyll*  
the land 106, 1371; 107, 1379, 1441; *mer-*  
*cyll* 123, 1823; *mercylle* 127, 1917.
- \***MARIA JACOBI** C. XXXVI (*Jacoby* 356, 29);  
Ch. XVI, 62; XIX, 95. *Jacoby* D. (B. of C.)  
192, 612; *Iacobee* D. (C.R. 204, 970;  
*Jacobe* D. (M.M.) 92 ff.; *Jacob* 97; *Jacobi*  
T. XXVI, 262, 346 ff. (E. 316, 346 ff.). *I.e.*,  
Mary, mother of James and Joseph or  
Philip and according to Ps.-M. wife of  
Alpheus and daughter of Anna and her  
second husband, Cleophas. (Ps.-M. XLII,  
Alex. Walker's trans. p. 51 note.) Thus, as  
in this play, the aunt of Jesus.
- \***MARIA SALOMÆ** C. XXXVI (*Solomæ* 355 ital.,  
*Salome*, 355, 1); *Salome* Ch. XVII, 62; XIX;  
D. (M.M.) 93 ff; *Solomee* T. XXVI, 262,  
352 (E. 316, 352); *Salomee* *ib.* l. 370.  
Another daughter of Anna by Salome, her  
third husband. Ref. as above. Cf. Mark  
XV, 40; XVI, 1.

**MARIE**, Saynte (a church in Rome) Ch. vi, 117, 24.

**MARS** Y. xxvi, 198, 163; *Mars* Ch. v. 81, 23; *Martis* Y. xvi, 123, 2. (Only *Mars'* hill Acts xvii, 22 in Bible.) *Maris* (planet) D. (M.M.) 66, 317.

**MARYON** (a woman's name) D. (M.M.) 99, 1161.

\***MASPHAT** NC. (Crox.) 61, 133 ff.; *Masfat* 60, 111; *Masfatt* 67, 306.

**MATHÆUS** See **RICHARDSON**.

**MAUDE**, merye Ch. vii, 134, 17. \**Mawd* (Secunda mulier) T. xvi, 148, 35 (E. 176, 352).

\***MAUNFRAS** (Secundus pastor) C. xvi, 156, 15.

**MAWDYCKE**, THOMAS. Name before songs STCo. 31, WCo. 70.

**MAWT**, wynne of ("Malta?") D. (M.M.) 72, 476.

\***MEDITACION** (one of Mary's maidens in the temple) C. ix, 86, 11. The Prot. of J., and Nat. of M., do not name the virgins and differ in number. Ps.-M. gives five: Rebecca, Sephora, Susanna, Abigea, Cael. Chap. viii.

**MEG MERYWEDYR** C. xiv, 132, 4.

**MELAN** (Milan) NC. (Crox.) 58, 29.

\***MELCHIZAR** (the second mage) C. xvii, 162, 13. Cf. **COLEYN**.

\***MELCHOR** (the second mage) T. xiv, 122, 41 (E. 144, 122); (third mage) STCo. 25, 727. Cf. **COLEYN**.

\***MERCURY**(E (a messenger) D. (St. P.) 44 ff.;  
*Marcurye* 44 heading; *Marcurye* 44, 435.  
*Mercurys* (planet) D. (M.M.) 66, 318.  
 Also appears as the name of the god, but  
 not so cited because Biblical in this use,  
 Acts xiv, 12.

\***MERCY** See **MISERICORDIA**.

**MERYWEDYR** See **MEGGE**.

**MILES THE MYLLERE** C. xiv, 131, 123.

\***MISERICORDIA** (one of the four daughters  
 of God) C. xi. *Mercy* 107, 21, etc.

\***MYSERYE** NC. (Nor. B.) 17, 115; *Mysery* 17,  
 136, 148; *Miserie* 17, 124.

**MORELLE** (ox or horse) "Moreau or morel,  
 equus niger." Stev. *Morrell*, My master  
 grett D. (M.M.) 99, 1155.

\***MORS** C. xix. *Dethe* 184, 30; *Deth* 185, 1.

**MOUNTE** See **VICTORIAL**.

**MOWLLE** that went by the way (= "Moll,  
 Mary" Gloss.) T. xii, 88, 1 (E. 105, 153).

\***MUNDUS** (one of the seven sins) D. (M.M.) 66  
 heading, ff. *World*, King of the 66 heading,  
 also *word*.

**MYLES** See **BLOMEFYLD**.

**MYLKEDOKE** See **MALKYN**.

**MYLLERE** See **MILES**.

**NAPLES** NC. (Crox.) 58, 30.

**NAVERNE** (= Navarre) C. xxii, 210, 11; *Navern*  
 NC. (Crox.) 58, 30.

**NEDY** See **NICHOLLE**.

NELLE (any fast and over-dressed woman) T.  
xxx, 313, 29 (E. 377, 323).

NEPTALIM (called to witness against Jesus)  
Y. xxxiii, 324, 115. *Nep(h)talim* in Nic.  
I, 1. The name itself is Biblical. Cf. Gen.  
xxx, 8; Rev. vii, 6, etc.

NYCHOLAS, Sant T. xiii, 101, 10 (E. 120,  
118).

NICHOLLE NEDY (Uxor to Noah) T. iii, 30, 32  
(E. 35, 405).

NORMANDY T. xvi, 141, 15 (E. 167, 49); *Nor-*  
*mandye* C. xxii, 210, 19.

NORWA (= Norway) T. xvi, 141, 15 (E. 167, 49).

OCTAVYAN (emperor C. Octavius Augustus)  
C. xv, 145, 3; *Octavion* Ch. Prol. 4, 14;  
\**Octavyan*, *Octavian*, Ch. vi; Augustus,  
Cæsar Augustus in Bible and Apocrypha;  
Alexander. There is an O. French "*Mys-*  
*tère de Octavien et Sibille tiburtine.*"  
See Ch. vi. Note.

OREIENT (Orient) WCo. 33, 3; *Orent* STCo. 18,  
502.

ORYON, þe dukedom of (Oregon, Gloss.) NC.  
(Crox.) 58, 35.

PADWA (= Padua) T. xvi, 141, 12 (E. 167, 46).

PALMAR, mayor (in 1534, when STCo. was cor-  
rected and WCo. newly translated) STCo.  
31 after 900; WCo. 70, after 192.

PANYMES (= Paynims) Ch. xxii, 142, 35.

PARFRE, IHON, ded wryte thys booke D.  
(Herod) 24.

PARYS (= Paris) C. xxii, 210, 23.

PARKYN (one of the "god-parents" of Mak's child; the other two are the first and second shepherds; is this the family name of "Dan?") T. xiii, 113, 27 (E. 134, 562).

\*PAX (one of the four daughters of God) C. xi.  
*Pes* 109, 6, etc.

PEACE, Temple of, at Rome. "Cf. *The History of Virgilius* in Thoms's *Early Prose Romances*, ii, 19." Note. Ch. vi, 114, 23.

PEYRS PORTER C. xiv, 131, 114. Note: *Pers Potter* also in list of names in *Cocke Lorelles Bote*.

PEN, good (spoken to Garcio) T. xii, 88, 37 (E. 106, 188).

PERCULA (wife of Pilate) Y. xxx, 272, 37.  
*Procla* in Nic. I, ii, in one ms.

PERNEL PRANE C. xiv, 131, 119.

PERNELL, Dame (Primuz mulier) Ch. x, 183, 5.

PES See PAX.

PETER POWLE (clerk to Aristorius) NC. (Crox.) 59, 57ff.; *Petre Powle* 62, 157; 63, 178.

PETYR (Seynt Petyrs temple) NC. (Crox.) 58, 27.

PEWDREAS, Sir (applied by Cayphas to Jesus) Ch. xvii, 57, 11. Ms. Harl. 2124 *Poydrace*.  
Note.

PEWTERERE See POWLE.

PHEBUS (= God) Y. xlix, 514, 1.

PHELYPP the good Flecchere C. xiv, 131, 120.

*Phyllyp Fletcher* also in a list of names in  
*Cocke Lorelles Bote*. Note.

\*PIKE-HARNES (Cain's boy) T. II, 9, 1 (E. 10,  
37); 17, 2 (E. 20, 382); *Pyke-harnes* 17, 4  
(E. 20, 384).

PILA (Pilate's mother) T. xxiv, 233, 19 (E.  
279, 19); Y. xxx, 271, 13, 14, 15. See  
ATHUS.

PONDERE (a country) NC. (Crox.) 58, 31.

POPERYNGE (a country) C. xxii, 210, 24.

PORTYNGALE (Portugal) C. xxii, 210, 23; NC.  
(Crox.) 58, 31.

POTTER See PEYRS.

POWLE PEWTERERE C. xiv, 131, 119.

POWLE See PETER.

POWNIEYS (Pontoise) C. xxii, 210, 24.

POYDRACE See PEWDREAS.

PRANE See PERNEL.

PRATTE See PRITTE.

\*PRYDE (one of the seven deadlysins) D. (M. M.  
66 heading ff. "callyd corioste" (= 'nice-  
ness?') 75, 550.

\*PRITTE PRATTE (Preco, Herod's messinger")  
Ch. x, 173, 20.

\*PROLOGUE Y. xii, 93-8.

PURGATORYE Ch. xxv, 180, 25; 183, 25; *Pur-  
gatorye* 181, 9; 192, 2; *Purgotarye* 181, 18;  
183, 20.

PYNKARD, RANDALL (evidently one of the  
masters of "taylars and sharmen") STCo.  
31, after 900.

PYXLEY, HERRE (a master of the "Weywars")  
WCo. 70, after 1192.

QUARELLE HEDE, Bery me in Gudeboure at the  
T. II, 16, 29 (E. 19, 367).

R. C. (signature at end of Croxton play) NC.  
87.

RACALI See A RACALI.

RAGNELL (a demon) Ch. xxiv, 174, 6; D. (M.  
M.) 101, 1200.

RAM-SKYT (Noah to his wife) T. III, 25, 35 (E.  
29, 217).

RAYNELL Ch. v, 84, 18. = RAGNELL?

RANDULL See PYNKARD.

RAPHAELL (angel) D. (M. M.) 106, 1368.

RAYNES ("Rheims") NC. (Crox.) 58, 27.

REBECCA (one of three maidens sent to live  
with Mary) C. x, 101. One of five in  
Ps.- M. VIII.

REDE See ROBYNE.

REYSE-SCLAUNDYR (Primus detractor) C. XIV,  
133, 9.

REWFYN See RUFYN.

\*RYBALD (fiend) T. xxv.

RYCHARD, name after the first song in WCo. 70.

RYCHARD See SMYTHE.

RICHARDSON, MATHÆUS, praetor (=mayor)  
STCo. 31, before songs. Note: S. has *Ma-*  
*thaens*.

RYGHT, RYGHTWYSNES See JUSTICIA.

ROBART See CROO.

ROBYN REDE C. XIV, 131, 124.



ROFFYN See RUFFYN.

ROME (*i.e.*, appar. Christian Rome) Ch. vi, 117, 14; possibly xxiv, 159, 5; T. xxx, 308, 18 (E. 371, 127); NC. (Crox.) 56, 57; 58, 27.

ROMNEY wine NC. (Crox.) 65, 260, 265.

RONDALL, Done, 'monke of Chester Abbey," to whose authorship these "banes" of 1600 ascribe the Chester mysteries. Ch. Prol. 1, 7. He is called *Randall Higgenett* in a proclamation of the 16th cent. Cf. *Introduct.* xvii, xviii.

RUBEN (father of Judas) T. xxxii, 328, 7 (E. 394, 7).

RUFFYN (demon) \*Ch. i, 17, 19; v, 84, 18; *roffyn* D. (M. M.) 101, 1200. Appar. same name as next.

\*RUFYNE (one of two "temporal jewgys") C. xxviii; *Rewfyn* in C. xxv, xxvii.

RUSKYNE See HARRY.

RYBALD See RIBALD.

SABA (the land of one of the magi) Ch. viii, 159 *ital.*; (cf. first Baltazare) C. xvii, 162, 1; (of third Balthesar) T. xiv, 123, 33 (E. 145, 158); 128, 15 (E. 151, 363). See COLEYN.

SABYN SPRYNGE C. xiv, 132, 4.

SADELERE See SAWDYR.

SALERN (Salerno) NC. (Crox.) 57, 16.

SALMANA C. xxii, 210, 13.

SALOME See MARIA.

- \*SALOME (the doubting midwife) C. xv; Ch. vi. Cf. Ps.-M. xiii, Prot. of J. xix, xx.
- SARAZYN, a (Saracen) C. xxxv, 245 ital.; *sar-  
asenorum* D. (M.M.) 100, 1186.
- SARCENY T. xvi, 141, 14 (E. 167, 48).
- SATURNE Y. xvi, 123, 5; (planet) D. (M.M.) 66, 321.
- SATURNIA See VIRGILLE.
- SATYLLYE, be lond of ("Satalye") D. (M.M.) 109, 1438.
- SAWDYR SADELERE (=soldier?) C. xiv, 131, 112.
- SCLUTTE See SYBILE.
- SCOTES, Kinge of Ch. x. In H. 2124 passage inserted at 179, 14. Note.
- SCOTTLONDE C. xxii, 210, 25.
- \*SENSUALITY (the World's messenger) D. (M. M.) 69; *Sensvalyte* 69, 394.
- SEPHOR (one of three maidens sent to live with Mary) C. x, 101, 10. One of five in Ps.-M. viii. *Sephore* 101, 4.
- \*SERYBYL D. (M. M.) 55ff.; *Serybb* 56 heading; *Syrybbe* 56, 33.
- SHELYSDOWN NC. (Crox.) 59, 60 and 58.
- SIBARIA (mother of Judas) T. xxxii, 328, 8 (E. 394, 8).
- \*SIBILLA propheta T. vii, 52-4 (E. 61-63); *Sibille* sage 53, 6 (E. 61, 166); *Sybbell* Ch. vi; *Syble* 100, 11; *Sibell* 105, 5; *Sibbilla* 115 heading; *Sibella* 115 ital.; *Sibelle* 115, 22; *Sybell* 116, 8. Ref. to in Ch. Pro. 4, 15;

T. XII 93, 13 (E. 111, 350); 111 x 73, 15  
*Sybylls* (E. 87, 50 *Sybylle*); *Sebellam* (Ms. b.  
 "The Sebellis") WCo. 39, 197; *Sybyl* (*Sybil*)  
 N.C. (Crox.) 68, 351.

SIBLE Ch. XII, 209, 24. Spoken by second  
 pharisee, evid. to the "mulier adultera."  
 Cf. SYBILE.

SYBYLY SLYNGE C. XIV, 132, 3.

SYDON, This pathe is cal C. XXVII, 260, 13.

\*SYM (tertius pastor) STCo. 9, 218 and 222.

SYM SOMNERE (Den[untiator]) C. XIV, 135, 21.

SYMME SMALFEYTH C. XIV, 131, 115.

SYMOVD (= Simond?) þe gardener D. (M. M.)  
 96, 1079.

SIMON (called to witness against Jesus) Y.  
 XXXIII, 323, 113. Cf. Nic. I, i. *Semes* or  
*Summas*? Rather Simon the leper added  
 to apoc. list. Cf. LUCAS.

SIS ("Sir, nor. . . . Sis") Ch. VII, 134, 16.

SLAW-PASE (third shepherd so called by second)  
 T. XII. 87, 9 (E. 104, 125).

SLYNGE See SYBYLY.

\*SLOWTH (one of seven deadly sins) D. (M. M.)  
 67 ff.

SMALFEYTH See SYMME.

SMYTHE, RYCHARD (a master of the "weywaris")  
 WCo. 70, after 1192.

SOMNERE See SYM.

SPAYN C. XXII, 210, 11; *Spayne* NC. (Crox.)  
 58, 32.

\***SPYLLE-PAYN** (Secundus Tortor) T. XXIV, 236, 3 (E. 283, 124); *Spille-payn* 237, 4 (E. 284, 169).

**SPRYNGE** See **SABYN**.

**SPRUCE** ("Prussia") NC. (Crox.) 58, 32.

**STAFFORD** blew T. III, 25, 18 (E. 29, 200).

**STEVYN STURDY** C. XIV, 131, 111.

**STOTT** (an ox) T. II, 9, 5 (E. 10, 41 "Cain's horse?").

**STREVYN, Sant** (=Stephen?) T. XIII, 108, 21 (E. 128, 383).

**STURDY** See **STEVYN**.

**STYLE** See **JACK AT THE STYLE**.

\***SUSANNE** (one of three maidens sent to live with Mary) C. x, 101, 2, 6. *Susanna* C. XII. *Susanna* one of five in Ps.-M. VIII.

\***SYBILE SCLUTTE** (a woman of low life, consigned to eternal punishment) C. XLII, 404, 32. Corresponds to "mulier," tavern-keeper, in Ch. XVIII, 81f.

**SYBRE, Sir** (name given Jesus in scorn) T. XXI, 194, 4 (E. 233, 149). Cf. E. p. 409 note. Scarcely = *Sybarite*?

**TARYFE** ("Tarifa") NC. (Crox.) 58, 34.

**TARS** (the land of the first mage, Jaspar) T. XIV, 123, 1 (E. 144, 124); 128, 15 (E. 151, 363); *Tarys* (of second, Melchizar) C. XVII, 162, 17; *Thrasis* (of second, Jasper) Ch. IX, 171, 2; *Thrasis* Ch. VIII, 159, 2; *Tharsis* VIII, 159 ital.; *Tawrus* (of first mage) STCo. 25, 725; 26, 750. See **COLEYN**.

**TAWRUS** See *prec.*

**\*TEBELL** (one of the midwives) Ch. vi, 110, etc.

**TEMPLE** See *PEACE*.

**THARSIS** See *TARS*.

**THOM** (the name used by the first to the second shepherd in the same sentence with "John Horne") T. xii, 86, 6 (E. 103, 85).

**THOM TYNKERE** C. xiv, 131, 113.

**THOMAS** See *GRAUENER*, *MAWDYCKE*.

**THRASIS** See *TARS*.

**TYBBE** ("Tybbes sonne" = Tercius pastor, Tudde) Ch. vii. 121, 9, 13; *Tib* NC. (Sh. Pas.) 1, 1.

**TOLKOTE** ("Toll-house" by Babwell Myll) NC. (Crox.) 74, 540. *Colkote* in Manly.

**TREWTH(E)** See *VERITAS*.

**\*TRINITAS** T. xx, 184 (E. 221, 529) speaks as one person. The word also occurs frequently in the following forms: *Trenetie* Ch. v, 90, 21 etc.; *Trenitie* Ch. i, 9, 6 etc.; *Trenitye* Ch. i, 8, 7 etc.; *Trenyté* C. i, 19, 15; *Trinite* Y. xiv, 1 etc.; *Trinité* C. xi, 110, 27 etc.; *Trinyté* C. viii, 74, 4 etc.; *Trynité* C. xii, 119, 7 etc.; *Trynyte* T. xix, 170, 40 (E. 202, 248); *Trynyté* C. iv, 42, 7.

**\*TROWLE** (the shepherds' boy) Ch. vii.

**TRUST** Shalle his name be (*i.e.* Christ's name) T. vii, 49, 31 (E. 57, 27).

**\*TUDDE** (Tercius pastor) Ch. vii, 120, 28; 121, 4, 5, 9 13; 122, 18.

TURKY T. xvi, 141, 8 (E. 167, 42); *Turkey*  
NC. (Crox.) 58, 34.

TUSKANE (= Tuscany) T. xvi, 141, 8 (E. 167,  
42).

\*TUTIVILLUS T. xxx.

TWYNKELERE See TYFFANY.

TYFFANY TWYNKELERE C. xiv, 132, 5.

TYNKERE See THOM.

VDINS, Sir (Secundus dux) Y. xxxi, 301, 257.

\*UNCEYLLE (= unhappiness, but used as if it  
were the name of Primus mulier) T. xvi,  
148, 10 (E. 176, 327).

VENUS, *his* voice! Y. xvi, 122, 10; (planet) D.  
(M.M.) 66, 319.

\*VERITAS (one of the four daughters of God)  
C. xi. *Trowthe* 110, 9; *Trewth* 109, 27;  
*Trewthe* 107, 3; 109, 2, 26; *Threwth*, 107, 27.

VERNAGE (Vernage) D. (M. M.) 72, 479.

\*VERONICA (the woman who wiped the face of  
Jesus as he went toward Calvary) C.  
xxxii. *Veronyca*, 318, 15. Cf. Death of  
P. and Av. of Saviour.

VERTUTES See VIRTUTES.

VICTORIALL, the mounte (where the kings go  
to pray) Cf. Legend of the Three Kings of  
Cologne, p. 267, "hille of victorie" = *Vaus*,  
*Vaws*. See WAWSE.

VIRGILLE (made a prophet of Christ) "Jam  
nova progenies cælo demittitur alto, Jam  
rediet virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna." T.

xii, 94, 9 (E. 112, 386). *Vyrgylle* T. xvi, 144, 41 (E. 172, 202).

VIRRAGOO. Adam says Eve shall be so called, "For out of man tacken she is." Ch. ii, 25, 10; *virago* NC. (Nor. A.) 8, 20; cf. *woman* (Nor. B.) 13, 26.

\*VERTUTES (one of the nine orders of angels) Ch. i. The three hierarchies or nine orders are set forth by Dionysius Pseudo-Areopagita in his "Celestial Hierarchy." \**Vertutes* C. xi, 106.

VISION, the land of T. iv, 36, 23 (E. 42, 68); *Vissyon* Y. x, 58, 71; *Vysionne* 59, 86 = *Pisgah*?; *V[i]syon* N.C. (Brome) 38, 23, "land of Moriah" in Gen.

WAKEFELD T Title.

WALYS, the londe of C. xxii, 210, 25.

WALLER See GYBON.

WARADRAKE See GRymbALDE.

WAT WYNK (Uxor to Noah) T. iii, 30, 10 (E. 34, 382); *wattes pakke* D. (M.M.) 99, 1154.

\*WATKYN ("messenger") D. (Herod) 4 ff.

WATLYN STRETE T. xxx, 308, 18 (E. 371, 126).

WAWSE, hyll of WCo. 33, 7; 37, 115. Cf. note under VICTORIALLE.

WHATT AT THE WELLE C. xiv, 131, 114.

WHITEHEAD, JOHANES ("consul") STCo. 31, before songs.

WHITE-HORNE T. ii, 9, 6 (E. 10, 42).

WHOLE CHURCHE, the head of (= Holy Church) STCo. 20, 581.

WYMOND (Tercius miles) Y. xxxiv, 338, 46;  
339, 57, 59, 60.

WYNKE See WAT.

WORLD See MUNDUS.

\*WRATH (one of seven deadly sins) D. (M.M.)  
68 ff.

WYAN, wyn of (Guyenne) D. (M.M.) 72, 479.

ȝEBEE C. xxii, 210, 13. = *Seba*? Ps. lxxii,  
10, Is. lxiii, 3, etc.

ȝELOMY(E (one of the midwives at the birth  
of Christ) C. xv = *Zelomi*, Ps.-M. xiii.  
Cf. SALOME(E.



## ALFRED THE GREAT IN POPULAR TRADITION

BY GEORGE H. McKNIGHT, PH.D.

In the medium through which we see the great men of the past, are many reflecting and refracting influences. One clearly marked effect of these influences is the magnified conception of the great men, of their personality and exploits; salient features become more salient; the hero more heroic, the villain more villainous. Thus in medieval England grew the romantic conception of Richard the Lion-Hearted, the hero of minstrel story; in Scotland grew the myth of the Black Douglas, the children's bugbear; in France developed the legendary Joan of Arc; in our own time and country has grown the exaggerated notion of Lincoln the spring of anecdote. "In thirty or forty years," says Carlyle, "were there no books, any great man would grow mythical, the contemporaries who had once seen him being all dead." Tradition makes the great man first a hero, then a god; as Greek tradition magnified Theseus into a demi-god, so Teutonic tradition magnified Charlemagne and Theodoric into heroes of popular story.

This influence of time in developing traditional conceptions quite distinct from the real characters is manifest in the legends surrounding Alfred the Great. Perhaps Alfred's efforts in encouraging authentic historical record, by the light which they shed over his times, have tended to dispel any shadowy, mythical form of himself which might have come into being in a time lighted only by the ray of tradition. At any rate the growth of legendary elements has not been so notable as in some other instances. Still a great many stories have been attached to his famous name; Alfred the popular hero gets credit due, in part at least, to his able but less celebrated successors. He did not indeed, like Charlemagne and Arthur, become the center of a cycle of stories; yet besides the authentic Alfred, the defender of England against the Danes, the lawgiver, the promoter of learning, there did exist the popular hero of story and church legend, the "England's Darling" of the later Middle Ages.

The relation between this traditional Alfred and the historical Alfred is interesting. Seen through tradition, Alfred appears in heroic dimensions. Yet, though the outlines are magnified, the real proportion is well preserved in the traditional conception. It is real qualities that are magnified to form the traditional conception; and if we apply the proper corrections, from the traditional hero we may form a clearer conception of the real man.

One special feature of the origin of Alfredian legend we must note in passing. Traditional accounts from earlier times passed down either in secular story or in church legend. Of the secular stories of early England we have only a scattering few; of contemporary songs concerning Alfred we have none. Those which must have existed we know only through the details undoubtedly contributed by them to later chroniclers. Of church legends, however, we have many. Alfred's manifold services to the church won for him the gratitude of the clericals who lived and flourished under the institutions which he founded. Hence he was celebrated in clerical tales. Older stories of secular tradition were colored; and new stories were circulated to exalt the wisdom, the goodness, and particularly the piety, of Alfred. Even the calamities of his reign were represented as due to divine punishment for misdeeds against which he had been vainly admonished. For this priestly origin, then, we must make some allowance in considering the extant tales concerning Alfred.

What, then, was the traditional conception of Alfred? The most conspicuous achievement of Alfred's career was doubtless his defense of Wessex against the Danes. History records few more dramatic struggles than that of Alfred rallying his reduced forces and finally expelling the invaders. Such events one would expect to

find the subject of patriotic song. Yet no such songs have been preserved; we have concerning Alfred no song like that which celebrates the glory of his grandson Athelstan at Brunnanburh, or the fortitude of Brihtnoth at Maldon. In later chronicles almost the only story which commemorates Alfred's bravery and which we feel sure must have been derived from popular song deals with Alfred's courage and resourcefulness in entering the Danish camp disguised as a minstrel and gaining the information necessary to him as commander. Even this story is suppressed by many priestly chroniclers, who prefer to regard Alfred's success as a divine reward for religious devotion. Thus the Alfred of tradition was not a military hero. Hereward, rather, "the last of the Saxons," who attracted to himself tale after tale of martial achievement, was the Anglo-Saxon hero of adventure.

Tradition loved far more to dwell on humbler virtues, the King in the herdsman's hut with the burnt loaves, the youth winning the illuminated manuscript by committing its poetry to memory—stories too well known to bear repetition. The same qualities are manifest elsewhere. A favorite story illustrating Alfred's generosity is told by several later chroniclers and evidently owes its origin to church tradition.

"Alfred in his retirement in the wilds of Somerset, had been joined by his wife and family. His friends were abroad in search of food; only

his queen and one thegn were with him. It was his custom, when alone here, to read the books of Scripture, hymns, or the annals of the country and the actions of illustrious men. As he was sitting by himself reading one of these, he was interrupted by a feeble knock at his gate, and by the low cry of poverty supplicating relief. He remembered the state of penury in which he had reached the same spot; he laid down his book and called his thegn to give the poor claimant some food. The thegn found only one loaf in their store, which would not suffice for the family on their return from their toilsome expedition, and a little wine. Alfred thought the necessities of the mendicant more urgent than their own, and reserving a part of the pittance for his friends, he presented the beggar with the rest."

The story is further embellished by Ingulph as follows:

"Alfred dismissed the man. Whether from weariness, from anxiety, or from being long intent on reading, he fell asleep for a short while. In a vision he saw the apparition of St. Cuthbert, as though sent by God, who said, 'Pious king Alfred, the Lord has been moved with compassion at the miseries of the English, who have long and bitterly lamented their sins. Even this day, under the form of a poor man, hath He made trial of thy long sufferings; and having most graciously received of thy

generosity when so greatly in want of bread, He hath through me made promise unto thee, that thou, who now art a wretched exile, shalt before long be the conqueror of thine enemies, and shalt rejoice on the throne of thy kingdom, and this shall be the sign unto thee, that although the winter's ice just now throws the greatest difficulties in the way of the fisherman's art, still, thy retainers, sent forth to fish in the marsh, shall satisfy all their desires, and shall, by the divine guidance, about the third hour of the day, bring into the palace a wonderful supply of fish.' So saying, the saint disappeared; whereupon the king awoke, and relating his vision to his mother, upon enquiry, found by her answers that she had fallen asleep in her chair at the same hour, and had seen the same vision, the same holy bishop making his appearance to her in a similar manner. While they were conversing, the fishermen returned from the marshes and brought in a quantity of fish, so vast that it was thought it would have proved sufficient for a large army."

The origin of a tale such as this is evident. To the same church sources we owe numerous other tales of visions seen, and divine assistance received, by the king in his struggles. "In his early manhood, while hunting in Cornwall, he entered the village church where St. Gueryr, a Cornish man of religion, was buried. Alfred prayed for relief from the malady with which he

was afflicted. He solicited any change of divine ministrations that would not make him useless in body or contemptible in appearance. In no long space afterward his constitution experienced beneficial alteration. His complaint ceased, though it was succeeded by another and worse one later in life." Another story tells how, when Alfred was reduced to the utmost extremity, St. Neot appeared to him in a dream, promising him both assistance and great success. Some of the monkish chroniclers who relate these tales suppress the more popular tale of Alfred's entrance of the Danish camp in disguise, preferring to attribute Alfred's successes to divine interference rather than to strenuous effort.

Even more fanciful tales sprang from the same source. "One day as Alfred was hunting in a wood, he heard the cry of an infant in a tree, and ordered his huntsman to examine the place. They ascended the branches: and found at the top, in an eagle's nest, a beautiful child, dressed in purple, with golden bracelets, the marks of nobility, on his arms. The king had him brought down and baptized, and well educated. From the accident he named the foundling Nestingus. It is added that the great-granddaughter of this foundling was one of the ladies of whom King Edgar was passionately enamoured."

The monkish authorities at times embellish

the popular tales with additions. For instance' Matthew of Westminster, in telling the well known story of Alfred's experience in the herdsman's hut, gives additional particulars. The peasant's name was Denulf. Alfred observed him to be a man of capacity. He recommended the peasant to apply himself to letters, and to assume the ecclesiastical profession. Afterwards he made the man Bishop of Winchester.

Other medieval accounts emphasize Alfred's work in establishing justice throughout England. To Alfred were attributed achievements which in many instances, no doubt, belong rightfully to some one of his able successors. He is said to have divided England into counties and shires, and these into hundreds and tenths, to have established a new judiciary, with new judges, justiciaries, and shire reeves. Ingulph says: "Peace flourished throughout the land to such a degree, that if a traveler in the evening left any sum of money, however large, in the fields and the public highways, whether he returned next morning, or whether a month after, he was sure to find it safe and untouched." And Matthew of Westminster, to the same effect, says: "He diffused peace over the provinces, so that even at the public fences, where roads are divided in four directions, he ordered golden amulets to be suspended, so as to excite the cupidity of travelers, since there was no man who dared to take them away."



Another legendary phase of Alfred's character is emphasized in the so-called "Proverbs of Alfred." This poem, once very popular in England, "professes to contain the wise sayings delivered by Alfred to his Witenagemot at Seaford." It was composed in native language and rhythm in the thirteenth century, a time for the most part barren in native literary productions, and extols the piety and wisdom of the king, "Englene hurde ('England's shepherd'), Englene durlyng."

He wes king and he wes clerek,  
 wel he luuede godes werk.  
 He wes wis on his word  
 and war ('cautious') on his werke.  
 He wes þe wysuste mon  
 þat wes Englelonde on.

Alfred recommends piety with these words:

Mildeliche ich munye ('admonish'),  
 myne leoue ('dear') freond  
 poure and riche,  
 leode ('people') myne,  
 þat ye alle adrede ('fear')  
 vre dryhten ('our lord') Crist,  
 luuyen hine and lykyen,  
 for he is louerd of lyf.  
 He is one god  
 ouer alle godnesse.  
 He is one gleaw ('wise')  
 ouer alle glednesse.  
 He is one blisse  
 ouer alle blissen.  
 He is one monne  
 mildest mayster.  
 He is one folkes  
 fader and frouer ('comfort').

Of justice, "thus quoth Alfred,"

Hwych so þe mon soweþ,  
 al swuch he schal mowe,  
 and everuyches monnes dom  
 to his owere dure churreþ ('turns').

Of the uncertainty of life, "thus quoth Alfred,"

For nys no wrt ('herb') uexynde ('growing')  
 a wude ne a velde,  
 þat ever mwæ ('may') þas feye ('of the fated man')  
 furþ ('the life') vpholde ('save').  
 Not ('knows not') no mon þene tyme  
 hwanne he schal heonne ('hence') turne,  
 ne no mon þene ende  
 hwenne he schal heonne wende ('go').

Of endurance and suffering, "thus quoth Alfred,"

If þu hauest seorewe,  
 ne seye þu hit nougt þan areowe ('caitiff');  
 seye hit þine sadelbowe,  
 and ryd þe singinde forþ.

Of overmuch talking, "thus quoth Alfred,"

Forþi ('therefore') ich holde hine for dote ('a fool')  
 þat sayþ al his wille  
 þanne ('when') he scholde beon stille.  
 For ofte tunge brekeþ bon,  
 þeyh heo'seolf nabbe non ('though itself have none').

Of the training of children, "thus quoth Alfred,"

For betere is child vnþore  
 þane vnbuhsom ('disobedient'):  
 þe mon þe spare yeorde ('rod')  
 and yonge childe,

and let hit arixlye ('rule')  
þat he hit areche ('control') ne may,  
þat him schal on ealde ('old age')  
sore reowe ('rue').

One will at once recognize that not all of these sayings were original with Alfred. The interesting fact is that they were attributed to him; thus they show the estimation as a wise man in which Alfred was held.

These stories and proverbs, apocryphal though they are, show the popular medieval estimation, the traditional conception, of Alfred. The general nature of this conception is plain. If there were tales celebrating Alfred's exploits in war, few traces of them are preserved. In this respect, as we have seen, Alfred cannot compare with Hereward, the hero of the Saxon struggle against the Normans. His fame is of a different kind. As a boy, though celebrated for his skill in hunting, he is better remembered for his love of learning, earning the beautifully illuminated book of poems. And of the Alfred of later life, the qualities most celebrated are the humility in the herdsman's hut, the kindness to the beggar, the religious character shown in his dependence on divine assistance, the justice in establishing laws, and the wisdom in uttering proverbs.

As Carlyle has urged, in all superstition, all quackery, if we go far enough back, there is a germ of truth. In the same way, in these me-

dieval traditions we have clues which, followed far enough back, will lead us to the fundamental facts in Alfred's character. In the traditional Alfred are reflected the features of the real Alfred.

Let us then compare the real King, as revealed by history, with the King of popular tradition.

To begin with, Alfred was a great warrior. Of his personal valor we have evidence in the account of the Battle of Ashdown, where, commanding the van of the English forces, without waiting for his brother King Athelred, who refused to march until mass was over, Alfred time and again charged "like a wild boar" up the hill covered with thick brushwood, and after a stubborn struggle won a victory. Of the general success of his campaigns it is sufficient to say that he, the last bulwark of England, proved strong enough finally to check the invaders, to save Wessex, and to give the impetus to the reactionary struggle which under his successors brought the rest of England from under Danish sway.

Yet these martial virtues, though possibly most conspicuous, were hardly the most fundamental of his character. His successes against the Danes were doubtless due as much to his administrative ability and his soundness of judgment as to his personal valor. His reorganization of the English army and his construc-

tion of the long boats with which to oppose the Danes on their own element were, in the final issue, factors more important than his courage.

This administrative ability Alfred also showed as a lawgiver. In compiling his code he was no innovator; he did not venture to make radical changes, because, as he says, "It was unknown to me how much of this would please those who are to come after us." He took accordingly the best from the old codes, striking out what no longer suited conditions. His regulations, moreover, in some respects seem to us absurd in their minuteness. The Mosaic doctrine of "an eye for an eye" is so extended that each part of the body has its fixed value. The loss of an eye in fight costs the aggressor sixty shillings, six and a third pence; of a thumb, thirty shillings; of a little finger, eight shillings. The loss of an ox's horn must be paid for by ten pence, of a cow's by two; of a cow's tail, on the other hand, by five pence, of an ox's by only four.

One great value of Alfred's laws lay in their uniformity. As the basis of his work, he used the codes compiled by earlier kings, Athelbert for Kent, Ine for Wessex, and Offa for Mercia; from these Alfred formed one code for the three kingdoms combined under his rule. More important, however, than this uniformity was the spirit which he recommended in applying his code: "By a single law one may judge every wrong. One needs no other books of laws. Let him impose upon no man a judgment which

he would be unwilling that the man should impose upon him."

Yet notwithstanding all that he accomplished in defending his country and in reforming its administration, Alfred's chief title to fame must rest upon something else: it is as the promoter of learning that he stands preëminent among sovereigns. Among English kings Edward I, Edward III, and Henry V were as renowned in war; Henry II was probably a greater lawgiver. But there is hardly to be found, certainly not in the English royal line, a ruler so genuine and so sincere in his desire to further the cause of learning.

The same zeal by which he won the illuminated manuscript in his boyhood Alfred showed later as king. He was fond of entertaining strangers and of getting from them a knowledge of foreign lands. He invited to reside at his court learned men from Mercia, from France, from Saxony, even from Wales. Thus surrounded by men of learning he did not content himself, as some other monarchs have done, with idle speculation and the selfish cultivation of his own mind. James I might have done that. But Alfred's aims were more generous, more noble. For the instruction of his people and the restoration of scholarship in England he set himself and his associates the task of compilation and translation. The product of their labors was a number of important books in English on church government, general history, ecclesi-

astical history, and philosophy. These works, measured by modern standards, do not "bulk large;" yet they form a body of vernacular writings unique for their time, the nucleus about which in the two centuries following grew a considerable vernacular literature.

From this rapid summary it will be seen that there is striking agreement between the historical estimate of Alfred and the medieval traditional conception. Both history and tradition emphasize the same qualities. Alfred's heroic defense against the Danes, conspicuous as it may be, is not his greatest achievement, whether viewed by the light of history or that of tradition. His most distinguished services were those rendered the causes of justice and of education. There is a striking comment made by Florence of Worcester, a Latin chronicler of the eleventh century, who says that Alfred's son Edward "was inferior to his father in learning, but surpassed him in dignity, might, and grandeur." With the judgment of Alfred's character suggested here, we have seen that historical estimate and popular tradition agree. Alfred the Great was preëminently Alfred the just, the wise, the good. Whoever would understand the nobility of his character, will find the keynote in Alfred's own words: "This I can now truly say, that so long as I have lived I have striven to live worthily, and after my death to leave my memory to my descendants, in good works."

## THE CELTIC RITE IN BRITAIN

BY MARY A. MOLLOY, PH.D.

The object of this paper is to present, as concisely as possible, the main points in which the Celtic Rite in Britain, prior to, and contemporary with, the time of Saint Augustine of Canterbury, differed from the Roman Rite, introduced and put into practice by Saint Augustine and his followers, at the time of his coming into England in 597.

The term "Celtic Rite" is "rather indefinitely applied," says Jenner,<sup>1</sup> "to the various rites in use in Great Britain, Ireland, perhaps in Brittany, and sporadically in northern Spain, and in the monasteries which resulted from the Irish missions of Saint Columbanus in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, at a time when rites other than the Roman were used wholly or partially in those places."

Did the limits of the paper permit, it would be of interest to trace the history of the Celtic Rite as it was observed in France and Spain, and later on in Britain: to contrast the charac-

<sup>1</sup> *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. iii, p. 493.



teristics of the Celtic Rite with those of the other Rites, several of which are in use to-day, as the Coptic Rite, the Mozarabic Rite, the Greek Rite, and so forth. However, interesting as a complete discussion of the Celtic Rite might be, it is quite possible that it would fail in appositeness, for it is only the period of its history when the Celtic Rite existed in England side by side with the Roman Rite, that is of particular interest from the point of view of English ecclesiastical history, or English ecclesiastical literature.

*I. There were some differences in the liturgy of the Mass.*

In the twenty-seventh chapter of the first book of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* we read the question of Saint Augustine to Pope Gregory as follows:

Whereas the faith is one and the same, why are there different customs in different churches? And why is one custom of Masses observed in the holy Roman church, and another in the Gallican church?

The term "Gallican," in the text, may refer only to the ritual brought over from France by the chaplain of Queen Bertha, and used by him in the church of Saint Martin at Canterbury. Whether the term is local in its application, or more general, as referring to the practice in

the church in Britain in proximity to Celtic influence, is not satisfactorily settled. In either case, that the liturgical differences were not in essentials, we may judge from Pope Gregory's reply to Augustine:

You know, my brother, the custom of the Roman church in which you remember you were bred up. But it pleases me that if you have found anything either in the Roman, or the Gallican, or any other church, which may be more acceptable to Almighty God, you carefully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the church of the English, which as yet is new in the faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several churches. . . . Choose, therefore, from every church those things that are pious, religious, and upright, and when you have, as it were, made them into one body, let the minds of the English be accustomed thereto.

The chief manuscripts containing portions of the Celtic liturgical Rite are as follows:

A. *The Stowe Missal*,<sup>2</sup> an Irish manuscript of the eighth or ninth century. It was discovered in the eighteenth century, and came into the possession of the library of the Duke of Buckingham at Stowe. It is now in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy. It contains a treatise on the Mass; the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass; three Masses; and instructions and

<sup>2</sup> *Royal Irish Academy Publications*, 1885. Edited by B. MacCarthy.

orders for the administration of some of the Sacraments.

B. *The Bobbio Missal*,<sup>3</sup> a manuscript of the seventh century. It was found at Bobbio in Italy, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

C. (a) *The Book of Dimma*<sup>4</sup> and (b) *The Book of Mulling*,<sup>4</sup> both manuscripts probably of the eighth century, now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; (c) *The St. Gall Fragments*,<sup>4</sup> (d) *The Basle Fragment*,<sup>4</sup> and (e) *The Zürich Fragment*.<sup>4</sup>

II. *There was a difference in the form of tonsure worn.*

At the beginning of the twenty-sixth chapter of the third book of the *Ecclesiastical History* we read:

Colman, perceiving that his doctrine was rejected and his sect despised, took with him such as would not comply with the Catholic Easter and the tonsure (for there was much controversy about that also) and went back into Scotland. . . .

In his translation of the *Ecclesiastical History*,<sup>5</sup> Dr. J. A. Giles says:

<sup>3</sup> In *Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church*. Published by Neale and Forbes.

<sup>4</sup> In *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*. Warren.

<sup>5</sup> Fifth edition, London, 1884, p. 160.

The tonsure, properly so called, does not appear to have been adopted for the first three centuries of the church; but originated with the earliest professors of the monastic institutions as a distinctive token of their renunciation of the pleasures of the world. Towards the close of the fifth century it began to be considered, both in the Greek and Latin churches, as a necessary rite for admission into the clerical offices; but who were the originators of the circular modes is not known. The Roman clergy shaved the crown of the head, which was surrounded by a circle of hair, supposed to represent the wreath of thorns forced by the cruelty of His persecutors on the temples of the Messiah, and which they pleaded had descended to them from Saint Peter. The Scottish<sup>6</sup> priests permitted the hair to grow on the back, and shaved the forepart of the head from ear to ear in the form of a crescent which their opponents called in derision, the tonsure of Simon Magus.

The probable derivation of the derisive epithet is of interest. "There is no real evidence," says Jenner,<sup>7</sup> "that this crescent tonsure was the form favored by the Druids, yet it was designated as the *tonsura magorum*. The term *magus* was accepted as equivalent to *druid*, and to this day the *Mágoi* of *Matthew* ii (1 et seq.) are *druidhean* in the Scottish Gaelic Bible." Whether or not the crescent tonsure was actually worn by Simon Magus, I have been unable

<sup>6</sup> I.e., the Irish.

<sup>7</sup> *Cath. Ency.*, vol. iii, p. 494.

to determine: whether it was or not, it seems quite likely that the advocates of the coronal tonsure, or "tonsure of Saint Peter," in their defensive zeal would particularize the term *magus*, and identify it with Simon Magus accursed of Saint Peter.<sup>3</sup>

*III. There was a difference in the method of reckoning the date of Easter.*

The Easter controversy, as it was called, dates as far back as 160 A. D. In its course, it passed through three distinct phases.

The first phase turned primarily upon the question whether the feast of Easter was to be celebrated on a Sunday or on a week-day. The observance of the feast on a week-day arose from the Jewish tradition of observing the Pasch on the *fourteenth day of the moon*, irrespective of the day on which the fourteenth of the moon fell. The diversity in observing the feast on a Sunday and on a week-day existed from the early decades of the Christian era. Saint John the Apostle followed the so-called Quarto-deciman observance—"Quartodecimani" being interpreted as "devotees of the fourteenth." The decision that Easter was to be observed on no day but Sunday brought the first phase of the controversy to a close in 190 A. D.

<sup>3</sup> See *Acts*, viii, 20-21.

The second phase in the Easter controversy turned upon the reckoning of the *Sunday* on which the feast was to be kept. The Asiatic Christians observed their Easter on the Sunday after the Jews kept their Pasch, that is on the *Sunday after the fourteenth of Nisan, the first spring month*. The Western Christians of Rome and Alexandria, at variance with the Asiatic Christians, calculated Easter by a method differing from the Jewish method. The Jews arbitrarily intercalated months before Nisan, their first spring month, on the fourteenth of which their Pasch was celebrated. The resulting lack of regularity in date from year to year may be inferred from the letter of Constantine sent to the different churches sometime after the Council of Nice, 325 A. D.:

. . . It seemed unworthy that we should celebrate that most holy festival with a copy of the Jewish rites and customs, . . . there are those who celebrate a second Pasch in the same year.<sup>9</sup> And why should we imitate those who are certainly afflicted with the malady of error? Those who celebrate the Pasch on the fourteenth moon, caring nothing for the equinox, sometimes did so after the equinox, sometimes before it, because the fourteenth moon rose at that time.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Constantine means that two Paschs sometimes fell due between one equinox and the next.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted from Theodoret by Parsons, *Studies in Church History*, vol. i, p. 113.

The Alexandrians decided that the Sunday to be observed as Easter must fall after the spring equinox, which was dated on the twenty-first of March of the Julian calendar. The second phase of the Easter controversy was finally settled by the Council of Nice, which decreed:

1. Easter was to be celebrated by all throughout the world on the same Sunday.

2. This Sunday must follow the fourteenth day of the paschal moon.

3. The paschal moon must be the moon whose fourteenth day followed the spring equinox.

But a new difficulty developed. Rome and Alexandria calculated the paschal moon by different lunar cycles. Rome adopted the one-hundred-and-twelve-year cycle of Hippolytus, which was subsequently discarded in favor of an eighty-four-year cycle. Alexandria followed the nineteen-year cycle of Meton. About the middle of the sixth century, Rome adopted a new cycle of ninety-five years, or an equivalent of five Egyptian cycles. On this difference in the standard of reckoning rests the third phase of the Easter question.

### *The Easter Controversy in Britain.*

Christianity was introduced into Britain some time during the Roman occupation. It may have been in the second century, but we have

positive evidence for the date 182 in the time of Pope Eleutherus. The conquest of Britain by the Saxons in the middle of the fifth century all but effaced the religion of the island. The adherents to the faith were driven westward to Wales.

In 432 we find the conversion of the Irish begun by Saint Patrick, and in 563 we find Saint Columba establishing the monastery of Iona, whence missionaries were sent out to the north of England and to the Continent.

When Saint Augustine began the christianizing of the Saxons in Britain in 597, he found the British Christians reckoning Easter by the eighty-four year cycle, which Rome had abandoned. The British and the Irish were unwilling to accept the method of reckoning followed by Augustine and his monks, but adhered tenaciously to the ancient manner of calculation. As the Roman monks advanced from Kent northward into Northumbria they found the converts made by the Irish monks zealous in their religious observances according to the Celtic Rite. An illustration of the resulting state of affairs is presented in the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Ecclesiastical History*. We read:

At this time (652) a great and frequent controversy happened about the observance of Easter, those that came from Kent or France affirming that the Scots<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> I.e., the Irish.



kept Easter contrary to the custom of the universal church. . . . Queen Eanfleda<sup>13</sup> and her followers also observed the same as she had seen practised in Kent, having with her a Kentish priest. . . . Thus it is said to have happened in those times that Easter was twice kept in one year; and that when the king having ended the time of fasting, kept his Easter, the queen and her followers were still fasting, and celebrating Palm Sunday.

As the dispute regarding the date of Easter began to occupy the thoughts of many, a synod was called in 664 at the monastery of Streonshalh<sup>13</sup> to settle the question. Colman, bishop of the Scots, came thither as the defender of the Celtic tradition; Wilfred, afterwards archbishop of York, upheld the custom of Rome. Colman defended the Celtic practice as having been followed by many holy men, among whom was Columba. Wilfred responded that if Columba had been informed of a better practice he would have observed it as readily as he observed the commandments of God.

Convinced at length by the reasoning of Wilfred, King Oswy,<sup>14</sup> heretofore a staunch adherent of the Celtic practice, declared himself ready to conform to the teaching of Wilfred. The king's example was followed by many of his subjects. Although the British and Irish

<sup>13</sup> Queen of Northumbria.

<sup>13</sup> Afterwards called Whitby.

<sup>14</sup> King of Northumbria.

Christians did not all immediately conform to the Roman Rite, still the Synod of Whitby practically marks the end of the Easter controversy.

Besides the main points noted above as characteristic of the Celtic Rite, there was a slight difference in the manner of administering some of the Sacraments, and a difference in the details of the ceremony for consecrating a church.

From time to time, the divergent points were gradually relinquished, or brought into harmony with the Roman Rite. Finally at the Synod of Cashel, Malachy, the bishop of Armagh, effected the general adoption of the Anglo-Roman Rite in 1172.

## TEXTUAL NOTES ON LAYAMON.

BY BENTON S. MONROE, PH.D.

References are to the lines<sup>1</sup> in Sir Frederic Madden's edition of Layamon's *Brut*; A = the earlier text, about 1205<sup>2</sup>; B = the later text, about 1250-1275.<sup>3</sup> Other abbreviations are: BS. = Bradley-Stratmann's *Middle English Dictionary*; Mätz. = Mätzner's *Altenglisches Wörterbuch* (A - misbileven).

6 B. *wid þan gode cnipte: cnipte* (for *cnihte*) is probably dative plural, 'with the good servants,' i.e., 'monks,' an interpretation supported by 13116, where *cnihten* means the inmates of a monastery. Thus the two texts are in substantial agreement.

302 f. This passage reads like a reminiscence of the hunting of William Rufus and Sir Walter Tyrrel.

<sup>1</sup> By an oversight on p. 15 of vol. i. Madden failed to count one line; hence the total number of lines in the poem is 32242.

<sup>2</sup> As determined by Madden and generally accepted. Sweet alone of modern scholars dissents, asserting on grounds not stated that the older ms. was written before 1200 (*History of English Sounds*, §582).

<sup>3</sup> The *New English Dictionary* gives the date sometimes as 1250 (s.v. *alaski*, *befall*), sometimes as 1275 (s.v. *bow*, *catch*).

313. *hea der*: 'royal game.' In *Chronicle E* 1086 the phrase refers to the harts and hinds and boars of William the Conqueror's forests.

490 B. *wro þere hele*, also 29556. "Not originally a compound word, but afterwards became so" (Madden, iii. 444); apparently felt as a compound as early as the second text of Lay., as also in *Body and Soul* 450 (Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, p. 103) and *Piers Plowman*, C. xvi. 301. Later occurrences are noted by Mead in *The Squyr of Lowe Degre*, p. 63. Cf. *godere hæle* 3597, and *Dame Siriz* 261.

570 f. *þar he mihte bihalden*

*þe bi halues were.*

'There he (indefinite = any one) who might be (were = subjunctive) near could behold,' a formula occurring also at 1007-8, 23881-2, 24423-4, 26315-6, the last three passages having *me* instead of *he*.

655. *feie*. Here and in 1715, 2478, 'fey' seems to mean 'dead,' the later text having *dead* in each case; cf. also *þu scalt beon feie* 2291 = *þou salt deaze*.

757. *bachē*: a palatalized form of OE. *-becc* (in place-names), doublet of *beck*; cf. *hatch*, *heck*. The more common ME. spelling of such palatalizations appears in *bæcchen* 21776. Cf. Madden's note, iii. 446; Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-Words in ME.*, p. 148.

1026. *droflicen*: the only occurrence of this word in ME. Madden renders 'grievous.'

1292. *wunnan*: OE. *wynn*, 'joy' in the material sense of 'possessions,' equivalent to 'things,' 'goods' (3421); so 22668, 26378.

1435. *han* for *haven*, *habben*; the earliest example I have noted.

1460. *bleinte*: 'blenched'; one of a small group of words in which before the consonantal combinations *-nc*, *-ng*, *-nh*, *e-* developed into a ME. diphthong, *ei*; cf. Hart, *Standard English Speech*, p. 43; Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, §107, Anm. 3. In these words Lay. has a curious variety of forms: *adrenge* 2568, *drenge* 12111 (B *adreinte*, so 21629), *adrenten* 20974, *adrente* 25698 (B *adreind*); *aseingde* 25697 (*aseint*); *bleinte* 1460 (*bleinte*); *leinten* 30625 (*leinte*); *gengden* 12865 (*geinde*), *geinde* (*geinde*) 1594, 4568, 10767, *gende* 30421; *mæinde* 4318, 17739 (*meingde*), *mæingde* 14368 (*meynde*), *mengde* 15530, 25126 (*meinde*); *swende* 6424, 26053 ([*sw*]einde), *sweinde* 8183, 21423 (*sweyncde*), 27627, 27780 (*sweinde*).

Apparently, then, the diphthonging was a process of the early thirteenth century, completed by the time of the second text.

1970 B. *turne*: "probably the contracted (or strong) form of the past tense" (Madden, iii, 454). Madden notes several such forms, many of those in the earlier text being corrected by a second hand: *æreke* to *ærekede* 6111, *luue* to *luuede* 11072, etc. Following is a full list, including those given by Madden, of such clipped preterits.

*answare* 7739, 10988, 14874, 15454, 25234 B, 31493B.

*biburien* 2097.

*cleope* 2673 B, 10370 B, 11620, 16525, 20128 B, 21981, 22127, 22825 B; in 16375 *cleopede* has *de* interlined by the original hand.

*ende* 26817.

*forhusce* 3171; BS. and Mätz. would read *forhuste*.

*gadere* 3820, 3844, 5247, 5486, 9252, 10380 B, 12405 B, 17572, 25352 B, 29088, 29667, 30009, 30502.

[*help* 9263].

*loue* 4487 B, 6055, 6983 B.

*make* 3175, 6581 B, 14809, 28067; cf. footnote to 29432.

*somne* 20491 B, 22327 B, 28670 B.

*stike* 7533; BS. prints *stike(de)*.

*strene* 11185 B, 15581 B.

*turne* 1970 B, 3069 B, 17527 B.

*wedde* 14391 (rime *wedde: bedde*).

*wone* 7020 B, 14320 B.

"Similar forms are found nearly two centuries later, in the Wycliffite Bible" (Madden); see the glossary to Skeat's edition (Oxford, 1879) s.v. *clepe*, etc. They appear frequently in the metrical *Life of St. Cuthbert*<sup>4</sup> (about 1450), nearly always in rime, as *wedde* above; cf. Lessmann, *Englische Studien*, xxiv. 187-191. The phe-

<sup>4</sup> Edited by J. T. Fowler for the Surtees Society, vol. lxxxvii, 1889.

nomenon in Lay. is confined for the most part to verbs of the second weak conjugation (Lange, *Das Zeitwort in den beiden Handschriften von Layamon's Brut*, Strassburg, 1906, p. 129); yet note *strene* first weak. Lange adds, "Die dreisilbigen Formen dieser Konj. wurden von den Sprechern und den Schreibern gern gekürzt."

1989, 1993. *lænde*: preterit of *lenden*, 'provided with lands, enfiefed.'

2512. *alch mon mihte faren ȝend hire lond  
þaiȝ he bere ræd gold.*

A proverbial expression; an earlier instance than those noted by Madden, iii. 314, may be found in Bede, ii. 16.

2545. *uniselðe*: OE. *ungesælð* with a stronger meaning; the word has developed from passive 'unhappiness' to active 'wickedness.'

2568. The use of poison is not infrequent in Lay.; cf. 11326, 14998, 17740, 19768, 28778.

2678. *Maidene castel*: several castles have been thus called. To Madden's note we may add Malory, *Morte Darthur*, book xiii. chap. xiii., and Scott, *Kenilworth*, chap. xix.

2836. *Bladud*: on this king see Sayce, *The Legend of King Bladud*, in *Y Cymmrodor*, x. 207-221.

3257. *finden*. 'supply, furnish, provide with,' a common meaning (not given in BS.), surviving dialectally in America.

3895. *þreo dæies hit rinde blod*: cf. *Chronicle*

*F* 685: *Her wearþ on Brytene blodi ren. ond meolc ond butere wurdon gewend to blode.* The whole passage rather recalls the plagues of Egypt, *Exodus*, vii-x.

4213 B, 23954. *ileired*: BS., questioning the form, cites the second passage under *ʒefæʒrien*, 'ʒmake fair.' The word seems, however, to belong under *leiren*. The sense in Lay. is 'overlaid;' cf. 4213 A *ihelede*, 'covered.'

4226 B. *tolimikede*: read *tolimede*.

4264. *burje*: the only occurrence of the letter *j*, except in proper names, in the printed text of Lay.

4566. *sæht*: 'went, fell out'; preterit of *sæjen*, OE. *sægan*.

4738. *graneden*, 5199 *greine*, 23909 *grænenen*: in Mätz., but not in BS.; cf. Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words in ME.*, p. 55.

4751. *sixti þusende*: Wace says *quinze milliers*; cf. 28293 *an hundred þusende* = Wace *soisante mil*. With reference to the enormous armies which the imagination of Layamon conjured up on the field of battle, the following paragraph is worth quoting:

"I have lost no opportunity of testing these [extraordinary estimates of numbers by the Chroniclers], wherever possible, by comparison with more authentic personal or Record evidence, the last being the only authority really trustworthy. The result is that I find again that multiplication by ten might almost be



called a normal rate of amplification. Whether dealing with the strength of an army, or the produce of a tax, the student *prima facie* will do well to take one-tenth of any number given if he would arrive at a proper estimate. In some cases that proportion would be found too large."—Sir James H. Ramsay, *The Angerlin Empire*, p. vi.

4785. *sckere*: an adj., 'clear, free' = *scere* 12752; a quasi legal term occurring in the form *scyr* in Chron. E. 963, Plummer, p. 116.

5228. *irumed*: from OE. *gerȳman*. BS. and Mätz. cite the participle only with unrounded *i*.

5641. *toʒernde*, 10042 *toʒerneð*, 29010 *toʒernden*: a compound not noted in BS.

6099. *bezste*. The glossary, p. 530, s.v. *bet*, has *beʒst*, etc., whereas in the text these forms have *z* instead of *ʒ*.

6302. *sprong þat word wide*: cf. 26242; a formula of frequent occurrence, earliest in *Beowulf* 18.

6312. *þe laʒe hehte Marciane*: see further references on the Martian law in Plummer, *Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, p. 63.

6508. *and to þan king weoðede*: Madden was right in taking *weoðede* as = *wæðde*, pret. of OE. *wæðan*, meaning specifically 'to hunt,' but here used in a more general sense: 'and to the king leaped,' 'upon the king sprang.' Not in BS.

6725. *þringe*: for *dringe*; so 12448, 14461,

14966B; also in the compound *here-bringen*, 22080, 23800, etc.

7027 B. *ȝif ȝeo were fair and fore* = A *ȝif heo wes a wiht hende: fair and fore* sounds like a proverbial alliterative formula; if so, *fore* must have been common. Madden translates *fore* by 'good'; better perhaps would be 'active.' The word is to be connected with *faran*; it may be a miswriting of *fēre*<sup>8</sup> (cf. *feore* 17618 A), though *o* for *ē*, however frequent in the earlier text, does not occur in the later. We find, however, *o* for *ēa*, *lok* = *lēac*, in B 15311. Such a scribal error may have been helped by the rime *fore: hore*. For the spelling *o* cf. Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, § 682.

7223-4. *wale þat eæuere ei sucche mon  
in to eælde sculde gan.*

*Eælde* is not an error for *helle* as Madden assumed, following the B text, but = *elde*, 'age'; cf. *ældde* 2989, *ælde* 24118, *ealde* 25913 B. The meaning is 'Alas that ever any such man should grow old.'

7526. & *Julius noht ne na bræð: bræð* is a palpable corruption, -æð being on an erasure. I propose the reading *brēað* for *abrēað* (*abrēoðan*, 'fail'), 'Julius did not give up.'

7675. *bliðere*, 'cowardlier': comparative of *blēað* = *bleðere* 23620, which the first hand wrote *bletere*, comparative of *blēat*. BS. has only *bletere*.

<sup>8</sup> On this word see Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English*, p. 237.

8039. *to-ȝere*: 'to-year', like 'to-day'; so 12477, 14657 B, and frequently.

8086. *iboned*, 'adorned.' The word belongs with *ibon* 12805, 14294, 25788, 32037. This is the earliest instance of the inorganic *-d*. Mätz. in his note on 14294 says of *iboned* "freilich auffallend," and in his dictionary, "irrthümlich gebildet."

8133. *tauelbrede*: not 'game board' as BS., but 'table-board,' the board on which the game of tables was played; cf. B *pleoide mid tael*. For an account of this game and its relation to chess, together with comments on the treatment of the word in dictionaries, cf. Fiske, *Chess in Iceland*, pp. 69 ff., 157 ff.

8176 B. *mid gramþene strengþe*: *gram þene* should be printed as two words; the meaning is 'with (the) furious strength'; cf. *mid hure gram reses* 5200 B, where A reads *mid grimme oure ræsen*. This order of words, the article or a possessive between the adjective and the noun, is a mannerism of Layamon's style, the two texts together from line 6 to line 32060 furnishing nearly three hundred examples. The phenomenon is not unknown in Old English; a noteworthy example is *on wlancan þām wicge* in the *Battle of Maldon* l. 240.

8632 B. *soch*: for *soh*, *sāh*, preterit of *sīgan*; similarly *ch* appears for *h* in *dochter* 3373, *ocht* 18355, 18426.

8785. *auerst*: apparently an error for *auerft* =

*auereft*, 'ever hereafter.' Mätzner notes the phrase, but has no examples earlier than Robert of Gloucester.

9798. *to-stopen*, *to-stepen* 17406; both pret. indic. pl. This compound is not in BS.

11791. *aðneowe*: adj. 'ready' (Madden); *að* = *eð* = *ed*, OE. *ēd* (*ēad*) - *neowe*. Not in BS. or Mätz.

11973 B. *þirkede* (= *A swurken*). Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *Sweorcan*, suggest the reading *dirkede*, 'became dark.' The *þ* is perhaps due to *þeostren*. Not in BS.

12256 B. *beor-time* = *bere-time* (OE. *bere*), 'bearing-time, birth.' An unrecorded compound.

12517. *cæppen* (B *cnihtes*); cf. *keppe* 19949 (B *kempe*). Perhaps a miswriting for *cæppen*, *kēppe* = *cæmppe*, *kemppe*.

12752. *scere*: cf. above on 4785.

12834 B. *stilleworþe*: apparently a corrupt form of *stalwurþe*. Madden's translation 'peaceful' (as if connected with *still*) does not square with the context. A has *æhte*.

14029. Madden's translation of *hit wes heom al hele* as 'it was safety to them' does not fit the context; cf. B *hii hadde mochel care*. Hence, if it be not too modern, read *helle* for *hele*: 'it was hell to them' (the Picts).

16952. *to brosene*: read *tobrosened*, participle of *tobrosnian*, 'decayed.' For a similar loss of *d* in the past participle cf. *igadere* 18659.

17501. *zewurðede*: The prefix *ge-*, normally becoming *i-* in Lay., is here preserved, the only instance in the poem.

18730. *seollic*: in form an adjective, yet here and often elsewhere, 19600, 23025, etc., used as a noun. The word develops like *ferlic* (*ferli*) from *færlīc*.

18836. *æwere*: occurs repeatedly as a quasi substantive in the phrase *longe is* (*beoð*) *æwere*, 18836, 23159, 28122, etc., a reduction of the longer formula *swa longe swa bið æwere*, 20823, 23179, etc. Cf. 'forever is a good while.'

21744, *uniuele*, 22018 *unfæle*. A comparison of these passages shows that BS.'s 'insensible' (OE. *ungefæle*) is too strong; better would be 'harmful' (*binge*, *water*). In 23868, guided by *onseale* in B (cf. *unisele* 26446), for *unuele* read *unsele*. Apparently *unfæle* is applied only to inanimate objects.

22153. *sundeð*, also 24766, and *seondeð* 27319: variants of *sunden*, *-eð* for *-en*, possibly on the analogy of the regular verb. A further anomaly is *sunde* 24278, for *be* (*o*), third sing. pres. subj.

22297. *beowweden*. The first scribe seems to have meant this for a weak preterit of *buzen*, OE. *būgan*. The second, altering to *beoweden*, apparently meant 'shook,' using *bivien*, OE. *bifian*, transitively. The former makes better sense. Mätzner records a weak pret. *bouwed* in La. 16572 B, the corresponding line in A

having the strong form *buzezen* for *buzen*. Lay. has *beoueden*, 'quivered,' as an intransitive verb in 28357.

24539. *guðinge*: connected with *gōd*; cf. *godliche* 18857, *gudliche* 860, *guðliche* 99, *goðliche* 10761, *guðfulle* 2956, 11531; *gouthliche Dame Siriz* 5, in Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, p. 105.

25440. *þurh-costned*: for Madden's 'completely provided,' adopted in BS., read 'thoroughly experienced.'

25509. *for-leoseden*: not, as Madden assumed, a weak preterit of *forleosen*, but = *forloseden* 26270, preterit of *for-losien*.

27030 B. *afor.ged*: read *aforewed* = *aforewerd*; *r* is similarly lost in *foðe* for *forðe* 3226, 14819; *fomest* for *formest* 18440 B, etc.

27797. *þræfliche*: an adverb formed on *þræf*-, in *þrafian*, *þrafung*; 'in crowds, oppressively, furiously.'

29145. *sum hit to Wales wende*: an early instance of (*h*)*it* as the impersonal (cognate) object of the verb. Cf. also *þus heo hit longe bituzen* 7536, and *Chron. E* 1009; *ða æfter mid-danwintra hi namon þa ænne upgang ut þurh Ciltern and swa to Oxneforda and þa burh forbærndon and namon hit þa on twa healfe Temese to scipan weard*.

29400. *bilaste*: 'fulfilled, made good'; the shortened form of the preterit of OE. *\*bilæstan*. The compound with *be-*, *bi-* seems to have escaped the lexicographers.

29987. *aloðede*: Madden's 'submitted' is evidently *ad hoc*; the form is from *alāðien*: *al hit him aloðede*; *þat he on lokede* = 'it all became loathsome to him that he looked on.' Yet this does not accord very closely with the context.

30787. *here-cnihten*: The dictionaries have *heredring*, *herekempe*, *heregume*, etc.; *herecniht* should be added.

31087. *whit sunne*: *white* in the sense of 'beautiful,' an early example. In this transfer lies the origin of *white* as a term of endearment in the Elizabethan period and during the seventeenth century (e.g., *Roister Doister*, i. 1.49; *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, vii. 66; *A Looking Glasse for London and England*, 1282; cf. note by Collins in his edition of Greene, i. 299), and thence of *white* as a slang term of commendation.

31500. *arð* = *arȝ* < OE. *earh*; so we find *ð* for *ȝ* in *þeond* 1604, *þeden* 3635, *liþe* 13703 B; and cf. *Wiðre ceastre scire* Chron. E 1087.

31812. *ioxned*: 'oxened, provided with oxen, yoked,' a coinage by Lay. like OE. *gehorsian*. Not in the dictionaries.

## ADDISON AND GRAY AS TRAVELERS

BY CLARK S. NORTHUP, PH.D.

### I.

It may be worth while at the beginning of this paper to recall the fact that Addison and Gray were almost the only literary men of importance in their day who traveled in the south of Europe and left records of their impressions.<sup>1</sup> Neither Dryden nor Swift ever saw the Continent. In 1727 Swift had thoughts of trying the waters at Aix-la-Chapelle; but he took Bolingbroke's advice and staid at home. Locke, Addison's predecessor in the commissionership of appeals, saw France and the Low Countries, but was turned back from an intended trip to Rome in 1678 by the dangerous condition of the Alpine passes. Collier apparently did not leave England. Steele saw service for a few years (from 1694 on) in the second troop of Life Guards, but has left no record of having

<sup>1</sup> The attitude of too many Englishmen toward travel in the eighteenth century was that which DeFoe (about 1728-9) admirably described in *The Compleat English Gentleman* (ed. Bulbring), pp. 38-39.



crossed the Channel. The author of *Robinson Crusoe* and *A New Voyage Round the World* apparently never got farther away than Scotland; his *Tour Through Great Britain* (1724-6) may or may not be partly based on personal experiences. Pope spent his whole life in England, about which he traveled somewhat. Of Gray's contemporaries Richardson passed his life in England, and Fielding lived there until the last year of his life; his *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* was posthumously published. Conyers Middleton visited Rome. Johnson was a considerable traveler, making journeys to the Hebrides, Wales, and Paris. An intended journey to Italy was abandoned on account of the death of Thrale's son.<sup>2</sup> Goldsmith's travels are well known, of course, through chapter xx of *The Vicar of Wakefield*. Gibbon spent much time on the Continent, traveling in Italy between April, 1764, and May, 1765. Hume visited Austria and northern Italy. Shenstone never left England. Collins visited France, but left no record of his journey. Finally, the travels of Walpole are known to us chiefly through his celebrated *Letters*; he apparently disliked more formal composition.

It is my aim to record the results of a comparison of the observations of Addison and of

<sup>2</sup> See "Johnson's Travels and Love of Travelling," Boswell, *Life*, ed. Hill, iii, 449-59.

Gray\* on what they saw in the course of their travels. What were the objects that impressed each of them most? To what extent can each be pronounced an observer typical of his own time? In what way do their travels appear to have affected their subsequent writings in general?

## II.

In the summer of 1699 Addison crossed the Channel to Calais and went at once to Paris.

\* In this study the following writings have been examined:

### ADDISON.

*Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c., in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703.* London, 1705. In *Addison's Works*, Bohn's Standard Library, London, 1890, i, 356-538. I have referred to the latter edition as more generally accessible.

*Letters.* In his *Works*, ed. Bohn, v, 322-340, written between September, 1699, and May, 1703 (France, Italy, and Germany).

*Letter from Italy*, to the Right Hon. Charles Lord Halifax, in the year 1701. In his *Works*, ed. Bohn, i, 29-37.

See also Samuel Johnson, *Life of Addison*, in *Prefaces Bibliographical and Critical to the Works of the English Poets*, London, 1779-81; Nathaniel Ogle, *Life of Addison*, London, 1826; Miss Aikin's *Life of Addison*, London, 1843, i, 97-131, chapter iv; Macaulay, "The Life and Writings of Addison," *The Edinburgh Review*, July, 1843, lxxviii, especially pp. 204-213, also in his *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, ed. Montague, London, 1903, iii, 328-339; J. J. Ampère, *La Grèce, Rome & Dante*, Paris, 1854, pp. 163-165; J. Murray Graham, *An Historical View of Literature and Art in Great Britain*, 2d ed., London, 1872, pp. 233f.; W. J. Courthope, *Addison*, London, 1884, pp. 38-52, chapter III; Edmund Gosse, "Addison's Travels," in *Literature*, December 11, 1897, i, 241f., re-

The record of his experiences in France is contained only in his letters. Writing to Congreve from Blois in December, he enthusiastically described Versailles and Fontainebleau. The situation among rocks and woods gave "a fine variety of savage prospects." "There is an artificial wilderness in the meadows, walks and canals, and the garden, instead of a wall, is fenced on the lower end by a natural mound of rock-work that strikes the eye very agreeably." Of Versailles he thought the pleasantest part

printed in H. D. Traill, ed., *Among My Books*, New York, 1899, pp. 51-56; Camillo von Klenze, *The Interpretation of Italy During the Last Two Centuries*, Chicago, 1907, pp. 20-22.

I have not seen Jean Le Clerc's *Observations upon Mr. Addison's Travels through Italy, etc.* . . . Done from the French by Mr. Theobald, London, 1715, which, von Klenze says, "amount to nothing but a short abstract of Addison's book." Nor have I seen N. Drake's *Essays, Biographical, Critical, and Historical, Illustrative of the Taller, Spectator, and Guardian*, London, 1805.

#### GRAY.

Gray's *Notes of Travel. France, Italy, Scotland.* In Duncan C. Tovey, *Gray and his Friends*, Cambridge, 1890, pp. 201-265.

*Journal in France.* In his *Works*, ed. Gosse, 2d edition, London, 1902, i, 235-246.

*Criticisms on Architecture and Painting During a Tour in Italy.* In Gray's *Works*, ed. Mitford, Pickering, 1836, iv, 225-305. Not reprinted. Deals only with Rome.

*Journal in the Lakes, 1769.* In *Works*, ed. Gosse, i, 247-281.

*Letters*, ed. Tovey, i, ii, London, 1900-4. Nos. xiv-xlvi, written between April 1, 1739, and April 21, 1741 (France and Italy). Nos. cvi, July 24, 1753; cxi, Oct. 18, 1753 (the north of England). No. clxxiii, Sept. 6, 1758 (to Palgrave

was the gallery. Writing to Montagu he said the French were the happiest nation in the world. "There is nothing to be met with in the country but mirth and poverty." There was, he thought, more mirth in the French conversation, and more wit in the English. Belles-lettres he found but short-lived, because of the shadow of ecclesiasticism. Returning from Blois to Paris, he had conversations on literature with Malbranche<sup>4</sup> and Boileau, which he vividly described to Bishop Hough.

On December 12, 1700,<sup>5</sup> Addison left Mar-  
in the north of England). No. ccxiv, Dec. 4, 1762 (England).

*Letters*, in his *Works*, ed. Gosse, vol. iii. Nos. lxxvii-lxix, Oct. 13—Nov. 19, 1764 (southern England). No. lxxiv, March, 1765 (France and Italy). Nos. lxxxi, lxxxii, Aug., Sept., 1765, lxxxv, 1765 (northern England and Scotland). Nos. xc, xci, Aug. 26, 1766 (Kent). No. cxiii, Sept. 11, 1767 (the north of England). Nos. clxxiii, clxxiv, Aug. 24, 1770 (the west of England).

See also Ampère, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-6; Gosse, *Gray*, English Men of Letters Series, 1882; von Klenze, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, n. 2, 25, n. 1; Myra Reynolds, *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth*, 2d ed., Chicago, 1909. Miss Reynolds for practical reasons confines her study to travels in England. The results of this paper will show, I think, that she has erred, at least slightly, in doing so.

<sup>4</sup> Malbranche spoke of Hobbes to Addison as a *pauvre esprit*. Macaulay's translation of this, "a poor silly creature," seems hardly just.

<sup>5</sup> By an explainable blunder Addison (*Remarks on Italy*, *Works*, ed. Bohn, i. 358) has it 1699; he was thinking of the year he left England. His letters, however, show that he was in France from the summer of 1699 until December, 1700.

seilles for Genoa in a tartane. At Cassis he saw from a distance the mountains where Mary Magdalene was said to have passed her last years in penance, and thought it was possibly the place where, according to Claudian, Ulysses summoned the ghosts. At San Remo he noted the fortunate mildness of the climate; "without this natural benefit of their climates, the extreme misery and poverty that are in most of the Italian governments would be insupportable." In describing Genoa he first speaks of the cunning, industry, and hardihood of the people, traits which existed when the classic poets described the Ligurians. The city seemed to him the noblest show in the world. He disliked, however, the custom of painting the pillars of houses and palaces. Of the government the most remarkable feature was the Bank of St. George, organized to discharge loans made by private persons to the government. He thought the power wielded by this bank a check on the aristocracy. He comments on the exposed site of the city and on the smallness of the fleet (six galleys), which the French king obliged the Genoese not to exceed.

At Pavia he was interested in the genuineness of the reputed tomb of St. Augustine, discovered

Neither Tickell nor Hurd perceived the mistake. Macaulay gives the correct date. Geo. W. Greene's ed. (Putnam, 1853, ii, 139) has it 1670, though he obviously has another date in mind; cf. his note.

three years before; he was somewhat skeptical. Of the Cathedral at Milan (then unfinished) the interior greatly disappointed him. Externally he was concerned not so much with the architecture—it was merely a “vast Gothic pile of building . . . all of marble, except the roof”—as with the freshness of the marble washed with rains. The chapel in which San Carlo Borromeo lies, and which presented to Dickens so striking and ghastly a contrast,<sup>6</sup> Addison mentions (it made no special impression on him) only to dwell on the philanthropic life of the saint, and on the canonization of modern saints. He mentions very few pictures and criticizes none beyond noting that in the Celestine fresco on the marriage at Cana one figure has six fingers. He comments at some length on the contrast between the airy, humorous French and the sedate, awkward Italians, a contrast due, he thinks, to the influence of free conversation with women.

Thence he proceeded via Brescia and Verona to Padua. At Verona he was reminded not of Romeo and Juliet or the Two Gentlemen, but of Claudian's description of a wild beast brought into the amphitheatre, and of the arch of Flaminius, with its “old Doric pillars without any pedestal or base, as Vitruvius has described them.” Writing of Padua, Addison

<sup>6</sup> *Pictures from Italy*, Oxford India Paper Edition, p. 97.

made an exception to his rule of having little to do with the saints and their fables, and reprinted, with a translation, the story of St. Anthony preaching to the fishes, which is said to have happened at Rimini.

At Venice he was chiefly interested in the site from the point of view of defences and the possible receding of the sea; in the commerce; in the furniture of the palaces; in the future of the republic; and in the operas and comedies, all of which he thought were poor. No thought of Antonio the merchant or of Shylock seems to have entered his mind; but he was interested in a poor opera on Cato, which apparently moved him to rewrite his own tragedy on the subject.<sup>7</sup>

At Ferrara the cathedral made no impression on him; and the chief feature of Ariosto's

<sup>7</sup> The question of when Addison composed the first four acts of *Cato*, as bearing on how he spent his time while in Italy, has some interest here. The remarks of Tonson, Pope, and Young are to be found in Spence's *Anecdotes* (1820), p. 46. The various conflicting statements are quoted by Ogle (*Life*, pp. xix-xxi, lvi-lx) and by Greene (Addison, *Works*, New York, 1853, i, 367-371); cf. Miss Aikin, *Life*, ii, 76-80, Addison's *Works*, ed. Bohn, vi, 715. My interpretation of the evidence substantially agrees with Ogle's (though I differ on some points): that Addison wrote a tragedy (probably in five acts) on Cato while at Oxford and submitted it to Dryden; that he subsequently, and presumably while on his travels (very likely prompted to it by seeing the poor play in Venice), substantially rewrote the first four acts, but did nothing then with the fifth, and actually rewrote it several years later. There seems to be no good

monument was the epitaph, which he copied. The site of Ravenna, then four miles from the coast, is discussed. The Rubicon recalled Lucan's description. Rimini did not suggest Francesca; he noted only the bridge of Augustus and Tiberius, the Arco d'Augusto, and the Suggestum. To San Marino is awarded an elaborate description in which the history and government are considered. The "good-natured smile" that Macaulay detected in this account is not much in evidence. It is amusing to find Addison, who now looked forward to a diplomatic career, noting that the pay of a San Marino ambassador was 1s. a day.

At Loreto the riches and defenceless position of the Holy House struck him, and he reflected that "if these riches were all turned into current coin, and employed in commerce, they

reason for rejecting Dr. Young's very positive testimony, that while at Oxford, Addison sent a play in five acts to Dryden. That this play was on the subject of Cato seems clear from the testimony of Tickell. Tonson's testimony, which forms the basis of the report that the play was *first* written abroad, really proves nothing of the kind. As reported by Spence, what Tonson said was: "Addison wrote the four first acts of his *Cato* abroad; at least, they were written, when I met him, accidentally on his return, at Rotterdam." Addison doubtless told Tonson that he had worked on these four acts while in Italy, but evidently said nothing about what he had previously written on the same subject.

Finally, I can find no evidence whatever for the latter part of Courthope's statement (*Addison*, p. 111), repeated from Macaulay: "The design . . . he had formed while



would make Italy the most flourishing country in Europe." The Falls of Terni drew him out of his way and seemed more astonishing than the water-works of Versailles; surely this was the Gulf through which Virgil's Alecto shot herself into hell. In crossing the Apennines he cared less for "the rude prospect of rocks rising one above another" than for the warm valleys with violets and almond-trees in blossom.

At Rome Addison remained only long enough to look at St. Peter's and the Pantheon and to reflect that the cross figure is better for churches than the rotunda, since it gives a greater variety of noble prospects. The deserted appearance of the Campagna was impressive; the blighting genius of the Catholic faith, he thought, was responsible for the paucity of numbers and the lack of cultivation of the soil.

At Naples he noted the processions of Holy

he was at Oxford, though he certainly borrowed many incidents in the play from a tragedy on the same subject which he saw performed at Venice." In the opera, among the books in Cato's library are Plutarch and Tasso (p. 392). Likewise Addison represents Cato before he commits suicide as reading the *Phædo*. In this, however, he follows the historical account of Cato (Plutarch, *Cato Minor*). In the opera "Cæsar and Scipio are rivals for Cato's daughter" (Macaulay says: "Cato, it seems, was in love with a daughter of Scipio. The lady had given her heart to Cæsar."). In Addison's play Juba and Sempronius are rivals for Cato's daughter Marcia. I have discovered no further likeness.

Week; the lack of defences; the prospects from the convent houses; the bay, with its sheltering circuit of woods and mountains; the conditions which helped Spain to keep the Neapolitans in subjection; the neighboring antiquities and natural curiosities (including Virgil's tomb, the Grotta Nuova di Posillipo, the catacombs, the Grotta del Cane, Vesuvius, and the manner of furnishing the city with ice). Of Vesuvius he gives a remarkably clear description. "There is nothing about Naples," he says, "nor indeed in any part of Italy, which deserves our admiration so much as this mountain."

Capri, as having been the residence of Augustus and Tiberius, claimed a visit, and entertained him with some medals found there, and "with many rude prospects of rocks and precipices, that rise in several places half a mile high in perpendicular."

The journey to Rome by sea in a felucca was full of literary associations; for here he was following in the tracks of Virgil and Homer, and noted every headland and every scene described by them. He spent the early part of August, 1701, in Rome. In the Eternal City he had great self-control. "There are in Rome," he calmly remarks, "two sets of antiquities, the Christian and the heathen. The former, though of a fresher date, are so embroiled with fable and legend, that one receives but little satisfaction from searching into them. The other

gives a great deal of pleasure to such as have met with them before in ancient authors; for a man who is in Rome can scarce see an object that does not call to mind a piece of a Latin poet or historian." Thus he justified his favorite diversion, of tracing the remains of antiquity and connecting them with his store of quotations from the poets.

He begins with the statues,<sup>8</sup> on which "the workmanship is often the most exquisite of anything in its kind"; yet in his discussion he is almost wholly occupied with what the Roman poets have said about statuary; he thinks they copied the Greek statuaries. Then come remarks on coins, which throw light on "several particulars in history and antiquities"; on the "amazing vanity of ancient pillars of so many kinds of marble"; on the obelisks and triumphal arches; and in conclusion a comment on the beautiful and glorious scenes which so much use of marble has produced in the Roman churches.

Addison then groups together some comments gleaned on visits to small towns near Rome and full of antiquities and classical associations. He was not blind, however, to the aspects of the landscape, and noted the contrast between

<sup>8</sup> Writing probably to Wortley Montagu, August 7, 1701, he remarked: "I am forced, for want of better company, to converse *mostly* with pictures, statues, and medals. For you must know I deal very much in ancient coins, and can count out a sum in sesterces with as much ease as in pounds sterling."

the "green mountains and fruitful valleys" of the Pope's dominions and the "wild naked prospect of rocks and hills, worn on all sides with gutters and channels, and not a tree or shrub to be met with in a vast circuit of several miles" in the Great Duke's domain.

In Siena there was nothing "so extraordinary as the cathedral, which a man may view with pleasure after he has seen St. Peter's, though it is quite of another make, and can only be looked upon as one of the masterpieces of Gothic architecture."<sup>9</sup> Yet he "forgot his prejudices"<sup>10</sup> *only* for a moment.

When a man sees the prodigious pains and expense that our forefathers have been at in these barbarous buildings, one cannot but fancy to himself what miracles of architecture they would have left us, had they been only instructed in the right way; for when the devotion of those ages was much warmer than that of the present, and the riches of the people much more at the disposal of the priests, there was so much money consumed on these Gothic cathedrals, as would have finished a greater variety of noble buildings than have been raised either before or since that time.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Horace Walpole disagreed: *Letters*, ed. Mrs. Toynbee, i, 53.

<sup>10</sup> To use the words of Macaulay.

<sup>11</sup> With this should be compared his remarks on the Cathedral of Berne: "The cathedral church stands on one side of these walks, and is, perhaps, the most magnificent of any Protestant church in Europe out of England. It is a very bold work, and a master-piece in Gothic architecture." P. 518.

This is a typical utterance of the time, which had not yet awakened to a realization of the fact that these were "false beauties" only to a narrow and antiquated standard. In the next paragraph he says of "the many gross and absurd traditions of St. Catherine of Sienna": "I think there is as much pleasure in hearing a man tell his dreams, as in reading accounts of this nature."

In speaking of the modern city of Leghorn, after pronouncing the two ports, the bagnio, and Donatelli's statue of the Great Duke to be "very noble sights," he gives some attention to the advantages of the free port to the Great Duke and to his effort to prevent the Pope from deriving a similar revenue from Civita Vecchia. In Pisa, the group of buildings which some have thought the finest group in the world are merely pronounced "very well worth seeing"; and he passes on at once to tell about a late quarrel between the people of Lucca and the Duke of Florence.

In Florence he saw his eighth Italian opera. "The Duke's new palace is a very noble pile . . . extremely solid and majestic." In the gallery of the Palazzo Vecchio he found the sculptures<sup>12</sup> most interesting, especially the

<sup>12</sup> Macaulay says Addison preferred the sculptures in the Museum "even to those of the Vatican." What Addison wrote was, "Florence, for modern sculptures, I think excels even Rome."

busts of the emperors. The *Venus de' Medici*, then in the Palazzo Vecchio (now in the Uffizi, room 25) was impressive. "The softness of the flesh, the delicacy of the shape, air, and posture, and the correctness of design in this statue, are inexpressible."

Bologna was "esteemed the third in Italy for pictures as having been the school of the Lombard painters"; yet he mentions only one of these, as the second of three rarities that impress him: a medal of the younger Brutus, Raphael's *St. Cecilia* (painted for the Bentivoglio Chapel at S. Giovanni Monte, now in the Accademia delle Belle Arti, No. 152),<sup>18</sup> and a new staircase especially easy of ascent and interesting for the disposition of lights.

At Parma the Teatro Farnese and the picture gallery deserved "to be seen as well as anything of that nature in Italy"; but he mentions no individual pictures. Modena and Parma illustrated the advantages and hardships of small principalities.

On the road from Turin to Geneva, amid the Alpine snows, he composed his *Letter from Italy*, in which, in smooth and pleasing verse, he epitomizes his impressions of a year's stay in Italy. And what does he remember? That every mountain and stream were there in classic times; that the Tiber,

<sup>18</sup> This also thrilled Goethe. See his *Ital. Reise*, Oct. 18, 1786.

sung so often in poetic lays,  
With scorn the Danube and the Nile surveys;

that the proud triumphal arches of the old Romans upbraid "a base, degenerate progeny"; that his Muse would fain describe the beauties of Raphael; that the blessings of blooming mountains and sunny shores are naught compared with Liberty, whom Britannia adores; and that while others may build domes and paint divinely and teach the rocks to live in statues,

'Tis Britain's care to watch o'er Europe's fate,  
And hold in balance each contending state.

Here speaks the young diplomatist and statesman. This point of view must be borne in mind throughout the reading of Addison's volume; it explains and accounts for much that he says—and does not say. A young man of twenty-nine, trained in the Latin classics and taught that these were the only literature worth while, whose attention had been lately turned to the problems of statecraft and diplomacy by the career which Montagu, attracted by his Latin metres on the Treaty of Ryswick, had planned for him, visits the land where his favorite authors lived and wrote. What more natural than that he should indulge his antiquarian and political interests? Naturally, his tour is to some extent the sentimental journey of an antiquarian with a bundle of classic quotations which he desires to verify and utilize in his

*Travels*. The number and extent of these quotations, however, has been exaggerated.<sup>14</sup> Into a work of 183 pages (Bohn ed.) he works 141 quotations, aggregating 651 lines, from the following authors:

Silius Italicus, 27; Virgil, 24; Claudian, 14; Lucan, 14; Juvenal, 13; Martial, 12; Horace, 10; Ovid, 6; Statius, 4; Ausonius, 3; Sannazaro, 3;<sup>15</sup> Homer, Greek, 1, English 1; Propertius, 2; Greek epigrammatists, 2; Tibullus, 1; Phædrus, 1; Manilius, 1; Seneca, 1; Unknown, 1.

In length these quotations range from a part of a line to 35 lines; the average, if we count parts of lines as wholes, is 4.6 lines. The average number of quotations per page is considerably less than one, and they are so skilfully handled in general that we are only now and then conscious that Addison is speaking of some scene or antiquity for the sake of leading up to a passage he has ready to quote. But that he traveled in the poets rather than in the country

<sup>14</sup> Thus Walpole, writing to West from Florence in 1740 (*Letters*, ed. Mrs. Toynbee, i, 88), says: "Mr. Addison traveled through the poets, and not through Italy." Fielding (*Works*, 1821, x, 188) speaks of Addison as "a commentator on the classics rather than as a writer of travels." Sterne (*Tristram Shandy*, 1765, vii, 11) says that Addison wrote "galloping, with his satchel of school books . . . galling his beast's crupper at every stroke." (Quoted in Johnson's *Lives*, ed. Hill, ii, 87, n. 1.) As Addison spent twelve months on Italian soil, he can scarcely be said to have galloped through it.

<sup>15</sup> His epigram on Venice is also referred to (p. 396).



itself, in any sense, is distinctly untrue. It is also to be borne in mind that it was still fashionable to make plentiful use of classical quotations in all polite literature, and nowhere more so than in books of travel. Sandys' *Travels* (London, 1610, 7th ed. 1673) is full of them. Addison was writing what he expected would be read, and obviously sought to please the taste of his readers.

Within certain limits the list of quotations gives some idea of the character and extent of Addison's reading. No prose writers are included,<sup>16</sup> and some of the greater poets (Lucretius, Catullus) and lesser writers like Petronius are likewise absent. Greek writers, not having written much on Italy, are almost entirely left out. But the severest criticism, well expressed by Macaulay, is that Addison almost entirely ignores the modern poets (the single exception among authors quoted being Sannazaro). Yet it can be shown that Addison is not more chargeable with this indifference than many others of his time, especially in academic circles. The modern authors were, if taken up at all, to be read, not studied; and if one did not care to become familiar with these writers, ignorance of them carried with it no stigma.

Addison is an uncompromising Protestant. He sees nothing good in the Roman Church.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> He refers, however, to Pliny and Cæsar.

<sup>17</sup> See pp. 368f., 419ff., 424, 524f.

Its miracles are open to suspicion;<sup>18</sup> its treatment of the people is responsible for much of the hardship and poverty that are too frequently found. The ignorance of the clergy is profound.<sup>19</sup> It will be seen that when the occasion demands Addison does not hesitate to speak frankly. It must be remembered, of course, that Addison went through no such crises as that which confronted Dryden in 1688; how he would have acted under similar circumstances we do not know. In general it may be said that his criticism is calm and dignified and gives the impression of expressing real convictions.<sup>20</sup>

One cannot fail to notice how deeply Addison is interested in politics. He recurs to political situations and lessons again and again.<sup>21</sup> I cannot help thinking that the latter part of the book, dealing with Germany and Switzerland, is more interesting than the rest, perhaps for the reason that Addison, no longer obliged to be on the lookout for antiquities and scenes described by the poets, here gives more attention to political and social matters. He is always a Whig, devoted to the principles of the Revolution; yet he is no narrow partisan, but is bent on extracting political wisdom from all possible sources.

<sup>18</sup> See pp. 365, 379, 400, 409, 453.

<sup>19</sup> See pp. 400, 525.

<sup>20</sup> On the political aspect of his Protestantism, cf. *The Freeholder*, No. 54, June 25, 1716.

<sup>21</sup> See pp. 390f., 428, 490, 504, 516, 525ff., and the *Letter from Italy*.

For example, in the present struggle with problems of excessive private wealth it is interesting to notice Addison commenting on the Swiss custom of dividing estates equally among all the children,<sup>22</sup> and the necessity of this custom in a small republic in order to prevent any citizen from becoming formidable to his fellows. He illustrates, too, a growing confidence in the wisdom of the people:

One may generally observe, that the body of a people has juster views for the public good, and pursues them with greater uprightness, than the nobility and gentry, who have so many private expectations and particular interests, which hang like a false bias upon their judgments, and may possibly dispose them to sacrifice the good of their country to the advancement of their own fortunes; whereas, the gross of the people can have no other prospect in changes and revolutions, than of public blessings that are to diffuse themselves through the whole state in general.<sup>23</sup>

He has comparatively little to say of the character of the people.<sup>24</sup> The contrast between French and Italians (pp. 373-5) has already been noted; besides he makes several interesting comments on customs, dress, superstitions, etc. Otherwise what he says about the people themselves is not especially significant. It is probable that such observations as he may have been moved to make he found in previous

<sup>22</sup> P. 529.

<sup>23</sup> P. 375.

<sup>24</sup> See pp. 361, 373ff., 391, 406, 455, 522f., 526ff.

"voyage-writers," especially Bishop Burnet, Lassals, Ray, and Misson, whom he mentions in his preface.

Addison's descriptions of scenery deserve attention. We do not think of him as a lover of Nature; a "feeling" for natural scenery was certainly not characteristic of the age. Yet he is constantly attentive to agreeable landscapes,<sup>25</sup> and he is frequently delighted with the vistas opened to him. "There is nothing in the natural face of Italy," he remarks, "that is more delightful to a traveler, than the several lakes which are dispersed up and down the many breaks and hollows of the Alps and Apennines." He never describes landscape, however, at any length. He felt, apparently, that his descriptive powers were limited; probably, too, he was more deeply concerned with other matters. Following the sentence above quoted, for example, he goes on to explain the geological history of these lakes, and then remarks that "the ancient Romans took a great deal of pains to hew out a passage for these lakes to discharge themselves into some neighbouring river, for the bettering of the air, or the recovering of the soil that lay underneath them."<sup>26</sup> A similar interest is shown by the following sentence: "The greatest pleasure I took in my journey

<sup>25</sup> See for example, pp. 378, 385ff., 413f., 427, 438, 444ff., 483ff., 488, 507, 509, 517, 537.

<sup>26</sup> Pp. 507f.

from Rome to Naples was in seeing the fields, towns, and rivers, that have been described by so many classic authors, and have been the scenes of so many great actions; for this whole road is extremely barren of curiosities."<sup>27</sup> The Alps do not move him to admiration; at Ripaille, however, "you have a near prospect of the Alps, which are broken into so many steps and precipices, that they fill the mind with an agreeable kind of horror, and form one of the most irregular, misshapen scenes in the world."<sup>28</sup> He is thankful for an easy journey over Mont Cenis. "On the top of this high mountain," he observes,<sup>29</sup> "is a large plain, and in the midst of the plain a beautiful lake, which would be very extraordinary were there not several mountains in the neighborhood rising over it." The Rhone "has been guided by the particular hand of Providence";<sup>30</sup> not, however, because of any striking views that its peculiar route affords, but because "had such a river as this been left to itself to have found its way out from among the Alps, whatever winding it had made it must have formed several little seas, and have laid many countries under water, before it had come to the end of its course." The journey across the Apennines was merely fatiguing;<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> P. 421.

<sup>28</sup> Pp. 510f.

<sup>29</sup> P. 507.

<sup>30</sup> P. 515.

<sup>31</sup> P. 414.

the "rude prospect of rocks rising one above another," etc., needed the relief of "warm valleys covered with violets and almond-trees in blossom." From a distance, however, the mountains are good to look upon. One of the most interesting descriptions in the book is that in which he describes the hour's rowing from Kufstein to the borders of Bavaria:

It was the pleasantest voyage in the world to follow the windings of this river Inn through such a variety of pleasing scenes as the course of it naturally led us. We had sometimes on each side us a vast extent of naked rocks and mountains, broken into a thousand irregular steepes and precipices; in other places we saw a long forest of fir-trees so thick set together, that it was impossible to discover any of the soil they grew upon, and rising up so regularly one above another, as to give us the view of a whole wood at once. The time of the year, that had given the leaves of the trees so many different colours, completed the beauty of the prospect.<sup>22</sup>

In general, however, the Alps and the Apennines alike were regions to be endured and gone through as rapidly as possible; nay, to be avoided when possible, as when Addison went via Marseilles to Genoa by sea. There was nothing sublime in the Alpine views of landscape or clouds; all was awful, horrible, as it had seemed to Silius Italicus in the first century A.D.<sup>23</sup> Yet it has not, I think, been sufficiently empha-

<sup>22</sup> P. 537.

<sup>23</sup> P. 508.

sized that even thus early in the eighteenth century men were beginning to fancy Nature that was less guided and pruned by the hand of man.<sup>44</sup> The Alps were beginning to have "an agreeable kind of horror." Of course Nature was capable of being improved by the hand of man; we still believe this though to a less extent.

### III.

When Addison started on his travels he was twenty-seven years old. When Gray entered France with Walpole, on March 29, 1739, he was nearly five years younger. In Gray's letters we have a much fuller account of his impressions of France than Addison has left us of his. The route to Paris lay through Boulogne, Montreuil, Abbéville, Amiens (where, at the abbey of St. Denis, he admired a huge onyx vase, five inches by three and very thick, representing the mysteries of Bacchus), and Clermont. Paris delighted him. "The view down [the Seine] on either hand from the PontNeuf is the charming'st sight imaginable."<sup>45</sup> Concerning Versailles he was less enthusiastic than was Addison. The front was "a huge

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *The Spectator*, No. 414, June 25, 1712, quoted also by Miss Reynolds, pp. 252f.; also No. 477, Sept. 6, 1712. Cf. also Blomfield and Thomas, *The Formal Garden in England*, p. 80, also quoted by Miss Reynolds.

<sup>45</sup> *Letters*, ed. Tovey, i, 23.

heap of littleness";<sup>36</sup> one "could not see a more disagreeable tout-ensemble." At Rheims, where they stayed three months, the chief thing was the cathedral, "a vast Gothic building of a surprising beauty and lightness, all covered over with a profusion of little statues, and other ornaments."<sup>37</sup> Gray liked Dijon better than Rheims. The environs of Lyons were "beautiful beyond expression." His description of the ascent to the Grande Chartreuse is so significant that, though it is not unknown, I must quote it again here:

It is six miles to the top; the road runs winding up it, commonly not six feet broad; on one hand is the rock, with woods of pine-trees [rather, says Mitford, beeches and firs] hanging over head; on the other, a monstrous precipice, almost perpendicular, at the bottom of which rolls a torrent, that sometimes tumbling among the fragments of stone that have fallen from on high, and sometimes precipitating itself down vast descents with a noise like thunder, which is still made greater by the echo from the mountains on each side, concurs to form one of the most solemn, the most romantic, and the most astonishing scenes I ever beheld: Add to this the strange views made by the craggs and cliffs on the other hand; the cascades that in many places throw themselves from the very summit down into the vale, and the river below; and many other particulars impossible

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<sup>36</sup> *Id.*, p. 26.

<sup>37</sup> *Id.*, p. 30. In his *Journal* (*Works*, ed. Gosse, i, 237) he speaks of its "beautiful Gothic front with two towers of surprising lightness."



to describe; you will conclude we had no occasion to repent our pains.<sup>38</sup>

Throughout his travels in France, as his notes show, Gray referred constantly to Cæsar's *Commentaries*, and had in mind the history of the country. Early in November the party crossed the Alps over Mont Cenis. "The immensity of the precipices," he writes to his mother, "the roaring of the river and torrents that run into it, the huge craggs covered with ice and snow, and the clouds below you and about you, are objects it is impossible to conceive without seeing them."<sup>39</sup>

On the journey he read Silius Italicus and reread Livy. At Turin he was bored; the puppet-show of the Damned Soul<sup>40</sup> did not offer much diversion. He writes West a noble description of the harbor of Genoa:

Only figure to yourself a vast semicircular basin, full of fine blue sea, and vessels of all sorts and sizes,

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<sup>38</sup> *Letters*, ed. Tovey, i, 33f.; see also pp. 44ff., and Gray's *Works*, ed. Gosse, i, 244; also H. Walpole, *Letters*, ed. Mrs. Toynbee, i, 38.

<sup>39</sup> *Letters*, ed. Tovey, i, 42f. Walpole, it is interesting to note, got a very different impression of the journey. "Such uncouth rocks and such uncomely inhabitants, my dear West, I hope I shall never see them again." Quoted by Tovey, p. 55.

<sup>40</sup> Described at length by Joseph Spence in a letter to his mother dated Dec. 2, 1739, exactly a fortnight after Gray's party had left Turin. See Spence's *Anecdotes, Observations and Characters, of Books and Men*, London, 1820, pp. 397-400.

some sailing out, some coming in, and others at anchor; and all around it palaces, and churches peeping over one another's heads, gardens, and marble terraces full of orange and cypress trees, fountains, and trellis-works covered with vines, which altogether compose the grandest of theatres.<sup>41</sup>

He fell in love with the Mediterranean. By way of Parma and Modena (where he viewed the Duke's paintings), he proceeded in December to Bologna, where he spent twelve days. He was more deeply struck than Addison by the beauty of the Lombard landscape. In crossing the Apennines Gray again shows how differently he and Addison viewed the mountains. "This vast chain of hills [the Apennines]," he says, "has its beauties"; the mountains "are not so horrid as the Alps, though pretty near as high."<sup>42</sup>

In Florence, Gray's party spent about three months. Of his notes, only those relating to the Pitti Palace have been printed. He describes the architecture of the palace. *Hercules Lifting Antæus*, which Addison mentions,<sup>43</sup> seemed to Gray "of indifferent workmanship." The pictures he liked best were Salvator Rosa's marines<sup>44</sup> ("admirable"); Parmigiano's *Ma-*

<sup>41</sup> *Letters*, ed. Tovey, i, 46.

<sup>42</sup> *Letters*, ed. Tovey, i, 49.

<sup>43</sup> P. 495.

<sup>44</sup> Sala di Venere, Nos. 4 and 15. One is reproduced in *The New Internat. Encyclopædia*, xv, opp. 164.

*donna del Collo Lungo*<sup>46</sup> ("the Virgin is not handsome, but a most majestick Air, the head & dressing of the hair in exquisite Taste"); Raphael's *Madonna del Pescia*<sup>46</sup> and *Leo X*<sup>47</sup> ("as fine as a Portrait can possibly be, & excellently preserved!"); Fra Bartolommeo's *St. Mark*<sup>48</sup> ("a most noble Style, Drapery in marvellous folds, vastly great!"); Carlo Maratti's *St. Andrea Corsini Praying* ("finely colour'd with great Warmth and Harmony"); Van Dyck's *Cardinal Bentivoglio*<sup>49</sup> ("easy and natural, yet perfectly great; the Colouring fine beyond all expression"); Titian's *Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici*,<sup>50</sup> which Kugler pronounces "amongst the finest of his portraits" ("very genteel"); Titian's *Concert*<sup>51</sup> ("the head of the principal [figure] has a most exquisite life & spirit in the eyes, & is admirably painted"). Andrea del

<sup>46</sup> Sala dell' Iliade, over the door.

<sup>47</sup> This must have been a copy, as the original is in the Prado, at Madrid, having been sent there in 1638.

<sup>48</sup> Sala di Apollo, No. 40. Reproduced in H. Strachey, *Raphael*, London, 1900, p. 20; Julia Cartwright, *Raphael in Rome*, London, 1895, p. 71. Cf. G. Allen, *Florence*, ii, 131f.

<sup>49</sup> Sala di Giove, No. 125. Cf. G. Allen, *Florence*, ii, 122f.

<sup>50</sup> Sala di Marte, No. 82. Reproduced in L. Cust, *Anthony Van Dyck*, London, 1900, p. 36.

<sup>51</sup> Sala dell' Iliade, No. 201. Reproduced in Claude Phillips, *The Later Work of Titian*, London, 1898, p. 19.

<sup>52</sup> Sala dell' Iliade, No. 185; formerly attributed to Giorgione. Reproduced in Claude Phillips, *The Earlier Work of Titian*, London, 1897, p. 63. Cf. G. Allen, *Florence*, ii, 115.

Sarto's *La Disputa*<sup>22</sup> he greatly disliked ("finely painted undoubtedly, & perhaps the principal work of this Master. From whence he got his great Reputation I know not, Grace & Beauty 'tis certain he was an utter Stranger to; Harmony in the Tout-Ensemble he was ignorant of; his Subjects are always ill-chosen, & if he colour'd a particular figure well, this is by no means sufficient to put him on a rank with the greatest Masters. Tho' even in this he often fails, & there is a smeariness in his shades that makes all his figures appear dirty."'). The same painter's *Assumption of the Virgin*<sup>23</sup> he thought had "no harmony." In this depreciation of Del Sarto, Gray is of course radically at variance with modern critics.

On the journey to Rome Gray and Walpole spent a day at Siena, the cathedral of which he described to his mother as "a huge pile of marble, black and white laid alternately, and laboured with a Gothic niceness and delicacy in the old-fashioned way." At Viterbo he noted that the houses had glass windows, "which is not very usual here."

<sup>22</sup> Sala di Saturno, No. 172. Reproduced in H. Wölfflin, *The Art of the Italian Renaissance*, tr. Armstrong, London, 1903, p. 172, and in Miss H. Guinness, *Andrea del Sarto*, London, 1899, p. 23. Miss Guinness speaks of it as "a noble composition, full of power and boldness, and of harmonious vaporous atmosphere." Cf. G. Allen, *Florence*, ii, 117.

<sup>23</sup> Sala dell' Iliade, No. 225. Cf. G. Allen, *Florence*, ii, 111.

The first entrance of Rome [he continues<sup>54</sup>] is prodigiously striking. It is by a noble gate,<sup>55</sup> designed by Michael Angelo, and adorned with statues; this brings you into a large square, in the midst of which is a vast obelisk of granite, and in front you have at one view two churches of a handsome architecture, and so much alike that they are called the twins; with three streets, the middlemost of which is one of the longest in Rome. As high as my expectation was raised, I confess, the magnificence of this city infinitely surpasses it. You cannot pass along a street but you have views of some palace, or church, or square, or fountain, the most picturesque and noble one can imagine.

Gray spent two months and a half in Rome and made full notes on the sculptures and paintings he saw. I shall quote a few of his more significant criticisms.

Barocci. *The Presentation of the Virgin*: "Some incorrectness in the drawing, but a harmony and sweetness in the tout-ensemble that makes ample amends. The finest I have seen of him."<sup>56</sup>

Annibale Carracci. *The Temptation of St. Anthony* has an "exquisite" landscape; "the whole admirably painted, and finished to the height."<sup>57</sup> The figure of *St. Gregory* is "exquisitely fine"; "every minute circumstance finished

<sup>54</sup> *Letters*, ed. Tovey, i, 60.

<sup>55</sup> The Porto del Popolo.

<sup>56</sup> *Works*, ed. Mitford, iv, 271. Then in the Chiesa Nuova.

<sup>57</sup> *Id.*, p. 233. The painting, then in the Palazzo Borghese, is now in the National Gallery, London.

as high as possible."<sup>58</sup> The *Pietà* that he sees is "finely painted, but not very pleasing"; "the Magdalen is a fine figure, but without expression," and the other figures lack dignity.<sup>59</sup> The *Noli Me Tangere* is "exceeding fine."<sup>60</sup> In *Peter Going from Rome* Christ's eyes and head convey "as moving an idea as it is possible for painting to express."<sup>61</sup> In *The Assumption* "the Draperies and colouring good; both the expression and the drawing in the main indifferent enough; but the scene which is properly the subject of the picture is nature finely chosen, and an example of taste in this kind."<sup>62</sup>

Pietro da Cortona (Berrettini). *The Battle of Arbela*: "Many noble combinations and accidents of men and horses. . . The tout ensemble harmonious enough. A most capital picture."<sup>63</sup> *St. Paul Restored to Sight*: "The whole very fine, well and strongly coloured."<sup>64</sup> *Il Triomfo della Gloria*: "An immense composition in the allegorical way, strongly and harmoniously coloured. Admirable groups, fine airs and heads, and well chosen ornaments. . . But I confess myself of the French author's opinion,

<sup>58</sup> *Id.*, p. 256. Then in the Church of S. Gregorio Magno.

<sup>59</sup> *Id.*, p. 260. Then in the Church of S. Sebastiano.

<sup>60</sup> *Id.*, p. 278. Then in the Palazzo Barberini.

<sup>61</sup> *Id.*, p. 297. Then in the Palazzo Doria Pamphili.

<sup>62</sup> *Id.*, p. 292. In the Palazzo Doria Pamphili, No. 78.

<sup>63</sup> *Id.*, p. 240. An early painting, then at the Palazzo Sacchetti.

<sup>64</sup> *Id.*, p. 242. In the Church of the Cappuccini.

who says, 'Je ne pense pas que les personnages allégoriques doivrent [sic] être eux-mêmes des acteurs principaux des personnages, que nous connoissons pour des phantomes [sic] imaginés à plaisir, à qui nous ne saurions prêter des passions pareilles aux nôtres, ne peuvent pas nous intéresser beaucoup à ce qui leur arrive.'"<sup>65</sup>

Domenichino (Zampieri). *Diana with Her Nymphs* he does not like: "the attitudes for the most part without grace, and the whole not agreeable."<sup>66</sup> Of *The Assumption* in the Church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, he says: "Nothing can be more lovely, or graceful; strongly and well-coloured, and as well-preserved."<sup>67</sup> The *Matthew* and *John* in the Church of St. Andrea della Valle are "as fine and sublime as possible, of a vast size, though seen at a vast height; the colouring bright but harmonious . . . and the drapery great and natural."<sup>68</sup> In *The Scourging of St. Andrew* he comments on the comic element:

One of the ruffians, in straining the cord that ties his leg, has cracked it, and is fallen backwards; others are laughing at him: the expression, though low, has somewhat in it that heightens the horror of the thing. These are a sort of circumstances that Shakespeare has often made use of; one sees his murderers have

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<sup>65</sup> *Id.*, p. 273; the French author quoted is Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture*, i, 176. The picture is in the Palazzo Barberini.

<sup>66</sup> *Id.*, p. 232. In the Villa Borghese, No. 53.

<sup>67</sup> *Id.*, p. 262.

<sup>68</sup> *Id.*, p. 266.

their jokes in the midst of the most tragic events; and when rightly taken, such strokes are surely expressive of the character, and of the want of reflexion, that is the cause of insensibility to others' woes: yet I do not say, these things should be used at random, nor made (as here) the principal objects in a picture."<sup>66</sup>

Guercino (Barbieri). *Dido on the Funeral Pile*: Dido's "head is truly fine, full of expression, and very beautiful. . . . The figure of Anna is ungraceful, and means nothing but a sort of surprise. Those behind are variously affected by the sight, but both their persons and manners of showing it, are low and not proper for such a scene."<sup>70</sup> *Joseph Revealing Dreams* has a "dark, disagreeable manner."<sup>71</sup> In *Cleopatra Prostrate before Augustus* "she is but a tame figure, with very little expression: but the emperor a very noble one . . . as graceful as possible."<sup>72</sup> *The Burial of St. Petronilla*: "The Christ's action is neither graceful, nor natural; the colouring in the extravagance of his manner, the shades mere soot."<sup>73</sup> Of *St. John Drinking at a Fountain*, he says: "One cannot see a more charming figure of him; it is alive, and admirably painted."<sup>74</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Id.*, p. 267. Also in the Church of S. Andrea della Valle.

<sup>70</sup> *Id.*, p. 229. Then in the Spada Gallery.

<sup>71</sup> *Id.*, p. 232. Then in the Palazzo Borghese.

<sup>72</sup> *Id.*, p. 239. Then in the Palazzo Sacchetti.

<sup>73</sup> *Id.*, p. 252. His masterpiece; now in the Gallery of the Capitol.

<sup>74</sup> *Id.*, p. 295. In the Palazzo Doria Pamphili, Gallery I, No. 70.



Lanfranco. *The Judgment of Solomon*: "Not one good figure, or attitude in the whole, besides the impropriety of making Solomon an old man." <sup>76</sup> Of *The Angel and St. Peter in Prison* he remarks:

I never saw anything of this master in oil that pleased me; his colouring is disagreeable, and the shades very black: indeed in general, his figures want grace and expression; but in his great fresco compositions, there is a certain greatness, a copious fancy, great harmony throughout and his draperies are the noblest one can see anywhere. Such excellences (which are the first one considers in cupolas, and such vast works) are sufficient to compensate the aforementioned defects, here that is not the case; and these faults are the first things that strike one. <sup>78</sup>

Nicolas Poussin. *The Plague at Ashdod*: "Many fine expressions but an ill-chosen subject." <sup>77</sup> The same is true of *The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus*. <sup>78</sup> Of the wife in *Extreme Unction* he says: "Nothing can be more noble than the sweet and graceful attitude of this figure";

<sup>76</sup> *Id.*, p. 232. Then in the Palazzo Borghese.

<sup>76</sup> *Id.*, p. 293. The picture was in the Palazzo Doria Pamphili. The great frescoes referred to are probably those in S. Andrea della Valle.

<sup>77</sup> *Id.*, p. 245. Then in the Palazzo Colonna. This picture can now be seen in the Louvre and in the National Gallery, London (No. 165). Which is the original I cannot determine.

<sup>78</sup> *Id.*, p. 251. Then in the Quirinal; now in the Vatican, Room iv. Reproduced in Elizabeth H. Denis, *Nicolas Poussin*, London, 1899, opp. p. 51.

the whole is "well-coloured, solemn, and harmonious."<sup>79</sup> *Cymon and Iphigenia*: "not good."<sup>80</sup>

Raphael. *Raphael's Mistress* "is no very elegant beauty, yet by no means so disagreeable as Richardson would make her . . . much finished and finely coloured."<sup>81</sup> The *Ritratto of Paul III* (then attributed to Raphael) was extremely fine.<sup>82</sup> The *Entombment*, which was purchased by Paul V, he does not mention.

.Of Guido Reni's pictures he mentions a considerable number, generally with enthusiasm. *Fortune, Flying* is "a very fine genteel figure."<sup>83</sup> *St. Michael*: "Indignation, it is true, does not appear in his countenance, for he is triumphing over a vanquished and confounded enemy, but rather a noble scorn, and somewhat as Milton says,—Severe in youthful beauty; but so angelical a beauty, such a head, as this master

<sup>79</sup> *Id.*, pp. 291f. Then in the Palazzo Doria Pamphili. The original picture is now in the possession of the Duke of Rutland, at Belvoir Castle. It is reproduced in Elizabeth H. Denis, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 97; cf. pp. 104f.

<sup>80</sup> *Id.*, p. 245. In the Palazzo Colonna, Gallery II, No. 31.

<sup>81</sup> *Id.*, p. 278. This picture of the Fornarina, still in the Barberini Palace, Room III, No. 85, is now known to be not by Raphael, but by Giulio Romano. Gray makes no mention of *La Donna Velata* in the Pitti Palace in Florence. Cf. Julia Cartwright in Bryan's *Dict. of Painters*, new ed., iv, 195.

<sup>82</sup> *Id.*, p. 283. Then in the Palazzo Corsini.

<sup>83</sup> *Id.*, p. 239. Then in the Palazzo Sacchetti; now, apparently, in the S. Luca Gallery, Saloon III, No. 133.

only could imagine. The Sveltezza, and lightness of the whole figure, added to the marvellous sweep its attitude gives it, make a most divine picture, and the colouring is all gay and harmonious."<sup>84</sup> *Herodias Receiving the Baptist's Head*: "The colouring even more languid than ordinary, but pleasing and very fresh; beauty and grace in perfection."<sup>85</sup> *The Annunciation*: "Such heavenly beauty in both figures as no words can express; the drawing of the virgin under her blue drapery incorrect."<sup>86</sup> *St. Andrea Corsini*: "The profile most exquisite; the colouring all light, and harmony very capital."<sup>87</sup> *The Magdalen*: "Such eyes and such a face, such beauty and sorrow sure as never were seen in any mortal creature; the hands and feet equal to the head. . . . Drapery in vast magnificent folds, . . . a colouring solemnly sweet, though all is light and exquisitely harmonious; most divine!"<sup>88</sup>

Salvatore Rosa. *The Death of Regulus*: "An ill-chosen subject, as the principal figure was not in a condition of appearing to advantage; . . . the various attitudes and expressions admirably imagined, and full of fire, with which

<sup>84</sup> *Id.*, p. 242. In the Church of the Cappuccini.

<sup>85</sup> *Id.*, p. 245. Then in the Palazzo Colonna; now, apparently, at Burghley House in England.

<sup>86</sup> *Id.*, p. 252. Still in the Quirinal.

<sup>87</sup> *Id.*, p. 278. In the Barberini Palace, Room II, No. 65.

<sup>88</sup> *Id.*, p. 280. Then in the Palazzo Barberini.

he abounded; the drawing most masterly and bold; a very capital picture."<sup>88</sup>

Rubens. He makes no mention of the *Madonna* and *Saints* with which Rubens decorated the Chiesa Nuova in 1608. *The Draught of Fishes* (Palazzo del Card. Giudice): "Many fine attitudes, great spirit."<sup>89</sup>

Titian. *Madonna Dolorosa*: "The expression touching, but without grace."<sup>91</sup> *The School-master*: "Truly good, and perfect nature."<sup>92</sup> *Bartolus and Baldus*: "Perfect nature and life, exquisitely painted."<sup>93</sup> *A Bacchanal* "is in high esteem, though there are many faults and disproportions."<sup>94</sup> He makes no mention of *Earthly and Heavenly Love*, which had been in the Borghese collection at least since 1648.<sup>95</sup>

Van Dyck. *A Lady in Black*: "No grace or beauty for a portrait. A painter must take nature as he finds it, and must imitate also the Gothic dress of the times, but the face,

<sup>88</sup> *Id.*, p. 247. Then in the Palazzo Colonna.

<sup>89</sup> *Id.*, p. 288.

<sup>91</sup> *Id.*, p. 233. Then in the Palazzo Borghese; now, apparently in the Prado Gallery in Madrid.

<sup>92</sup> *Id.*, p. 234. Then in the Palazzo Borghese.

<sup>93</sup> *Id.*, p. 294. Then in the Palazzo Doria Pamphili.

<sup>94</sup> *Id.*, p. 296. Then in the Palazzo Doria Pamphili; now, apparently, in the Prado Gallery in Madrid. None of the above four, apparently, is allowed as genuine by Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

<sup>95</sup> Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Life and Times of Titian*, i, 62.

the hands are painted to a miracle, the skin perfectly transparent, true flesh and blood."<sup>96</sup>

Though he seems to have spent most of his time on paintings, Gray was also very observant of sculpture, both ancient and modern, and describes a considerable number of statues. The *Alexander the Great* in the Palazzo Barberini is impressive, "vastly striking, and undoubtedly the work of some great master."<sup>97</sup> The *Bacchus, or Sleeping Fawn*, is in the "noblest style possible and perfectly fine in every respect."<sup>98</sup> Of the statues of Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea in the Capitol, the attitudes are "stiff, and drapery in little unnatural plaits."<sup>99</sup> The *Dying Gladiator* is "for expression (after the *Laocoon*), to be sure the noblest statue in the world."<sup>100</sup> Of modern sculpture he has somewhat less to say. Of Bernini's *St. Ludovica Albertoni* he says: "She is in the habit of a nun, and consequently wrapped up in a vast deal of drapery, which is not very light or natural; however, there is abundance of labour in it and the head is good."<sup>101</sup> Stephano Maderna's *St. Cecilia*,

<sup>96</sup> *Works*, ed. Mitford, iv, 295f. Then in the Palazzo Doria Pamphili. It cannot be identified with certainty, but may be the picture now owned by the Earl of Denbigh at Newham Paddox. See Cust, opp. p. 14.

<sup>97</sup> *Id.*, p. 275.

<sup>98</sup> *Id.*, p. 281. Also in the Barberini Palace.

<sup>99</sup> *Id.*, p. 299. In the Capitoline Museum, Room v.

<sup>100</sup> *Id.*, p. 305. In the same, Room i.

<sup>101</sup> *Id.*, p. 261. In the Church of S. Francesco a Ripa Grande.

in the Church of St. Cecilia in Trastevere, is "extremely natural, and the drapery easy and simple."<sup>102</sup> Michael Angelo's *Christ Triumphant* he greatly admires: "the head somewhat inclining to one side, the looks full of mildness and extensive humanity, and an attitude perfectly easy and natural; the marble truly softened into flesh; nothing can be more exquisite than the turn of the limbs; sculpture can go no farther."<sup>103</sup> It is strange to find that this work, which was only blocked out by Michael Angelo, is the only one by him of which Gray speaks. Why he did not visit San Pietro in Vincoli or the Vatican, we do not know; there are no notes on these places, nor do Walpole's letters record any visit to them.

Early in June, 1740, the travelers again took the road and proceeded to Naples, "through the most beautiful part of the finest country in the world; and every spot of it on some account or other, famous for these three thousand years past."<sup>104</sup> In his notes of this journey we find a plentiful sprinkling of quotations from classical writers; the narrative is full of Addison's spirit. His descriptions of scenery and land-

<sup>102</sup> *Id.*, p. 262.

<sup>103</sup> *Id.*, p. 270. In the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Cf. Lord Gower, *Michael Angelo Buonarroti*, London, 1903, pp. 54-55, where various views of this work are expressed.

<sup>104</sup> *Letters*, ed. Tovey, i, 71.

scape are much fuller than Addison's. On the road to Fondi "the hedges abound with the broad-leaved myrtle, bay, Spanish-broom, laurustine and many flowering shrubs I never saw before."<sup>106</sup> Like Addison, he comments on the change noticeable when one leaves the Pope's dominions. "What must such a country be," he asks, "in the times of liberty, when even under the execrable government it has now long been subject to, it can flourish in this manner?"<sup>106</sup> He describes in detail the impressive view from the Monastery of S. Martino. Caravaggio's *Denial of Christ* in the sacristy "is true nature indeed, and excellent in a low way, but it is a perfectly Dutch scene."<sup>107</sup> Of Ribera's *Descent from the Cross* he says: "The dead Christ . . . is a most admirable figure both for drawing and colouring; nothing can be more easy, and it perfectly comes forward from the canvass."<sup>108</sup> Of Lanfranco's decoration of the vault he remarks: "If you come to particular parts, there is no great grace, or expression, neither is the drawing always correct; but in the whole a greatness in the execution, a perfect mastery in

<sup>106</sup> Tovey, *Gray and His Friends*, p. 229.

<sup>106</sup> *Id.*, p. 231; Cf. *Letters*, ed. Tovey, i, 71.

<sup>107</sup> *Id.*, p. 234.

<sup>108</sup> *Id.*, p. 234. Reproduced by Mrs. Bell in her *Lives and Legends of the Evangelists, Apostles, and other Early Saints*, London, 1901, p. 170, and by C. von Lützow, *Die Kunstschätze Italiens*, Gera, 1884, p. 484.

the management of his colours, and a great harmony, that strikes the eye all at once, a certain furia in his airs, and the draperies always noble and simple."<sup>109</sup>

He passed through the Grotta Nuova di Posillipo, and visited the Grotta del Cane and the Stufe di S. Germano. He recorded his impressions of Monte Barbaro (the Gaurus) in a Latin poem sent to West.<sup>110</sup> Vesuvius was then extremely quiet; "some days one could not perceive it smoke at all." His description of Herculaneum, which had been unearthed about a year before, is interesting, but need not detain us.

After a fortnight in Rome the party returned on July 14th, to Florence. On August 19th came the news of the election of Benedict XIV; but the heat, much to Gray's regret, prevented them from traveling to Rome to see the coronation. Though he passed eleven months in Florence, Gray wrote West that he knew neither people nor language. That the city, however, powerfully appealed to him is evidenced by the lines, "Oh Fæsulæ amcena Frigoribus juga," etc., which he enclosed in a letter to West, April 21, 1741. At Reggio occurred the quarrel with Walpole, after which Gray returned home through Venice, Padua, Verona, Milan, Turin,

<sup>109</sup> *Id.*, p. 235.

<sup>110</sup> *Works*, ed. Gosse, i, 179-81.



and Lyons, which he reached on August 25th. There are no published records of his returning journey.

Gray's love of scenery became more intense as he grew older. Though he never again left Great Britain, he made several journeys to the north of England and one to Scotland. The most important record of this experience is found in his *Journal in the Lakes*, composed directly for Dr. Wharton's benefit. The narrative begins at Brough, September 30, 1769. The next day, equipped with a Claude Lorraine glass, he viewed Ulswater—"directly at my feet majestic in its calmness, clear and smooth as a blue mirror, with winding shores and low points of land covered with green inclosures, white farm houses looking out among the trees, and cattle feeding. The water is almost everywhere bordered with cultivated lands gently sloping upwards till they reach the feet of the mountains, which rise very rude and awful with their broken tops on either hand."<sup>111</sup> Next day, on the road to Keswick, he passed Saddleback, "whose furrowed sides were gilt by noon-day sun, while its brow appeared of a sad purple from the shadow of the clouds, as they sailed slowly by it."<sup>112</sup> His description of the celebrated panorama northwest from Castlerigg,

<sup>111</sup> *Works*, ed. Gosse, i, 251.

<sup>112</sup> *Id.*, p. 253.

a view which has been alleged to have no equal in Great Britain, must be quoted in full:

. . . . Drew near the foot of Walla-crag, whose bare and rocky brow, cut perpendicularly down above four hundred feet, as I guess, awfully overlooks the way; our path here tends to the left, and the ground gently rising, and covered with a glade of scattering trees and bushes on the very margin of the water, opens both ways the most delicious view that my eyes ever beheld. Behind you are the magnificent heights of Walla-crag; opposite lie the thick hanging woods of Lord Egremont, and Newland Valley, with green and smiling fields embosomed in the dark cliffs; to the left the jaws of Borrowdale, with that turbulent chaos of mountain behind mountain, rolled in confusion; beneath you, and stretching far away to the right, the shining purity of the Lake, just ruffled by the breeze, enough to shew it is alive, reflecting rocks, woods, fields, and inverted tops of mountains, with the white buildings of Keswick, Crossthwaite Church, and Skiddaw for a background at a distance.<sup>118</sup>

As he entered Borrowdale, the crags of Lodorbanks impended terribly over his way; Gowder

<sup>118</sup> *Works*, ed. Gosse, i, 254; cf. p. 264. It will be recalled that Southey wrote of this view: "The vale of Keswick, with Skiddaw for its huge boundary and bulwark, to the North, and where Bassenthwaite stretches into the open country, a distance of water, hills, and remote horizon, in which Claude would have found all he desired, and more than even he could have represented, had he beheld it in the glory of a midsummer sunset." *Sir Thomas More, or Colloquies*, i, 122. Cf. his comparison of Alpine scenery, *Life and Correspondence*, iv, 277f. See also Dr. Dalton's *Descriptive Poem*, quoted in part by Miss Reynolds, *op. cit.*, pp. 226f.

Crag was even more formidable, and reminded him of passes in the Alps where the guides ordered one to move rapidly on in silence. Passing Helm Crag on the Ambleside road, he was also delighted with the broad basin in which lies Grasmere Lake.<sup>114</sup> On the road along Windermere toward Kendal he was rewarded with "delicious views" across the lake to the south and west. Continuing through Burton, Lancaster, and Settle, he came, on October 14th, to Gordale Scar, which powerfully impressed him. The precipice under which he stood to see the fall formed "the principal horror of the place"; the impression he felt sure would last for life. Thence he passed through Skipton to Ottley. Wharfedale was "a beautiful vale"; "well wooded, well cultivated, well inhabited, but with high crags at distance, that border the green country on either hand, through the midst of it, deep, clear, full to the brink and of no inconsiderable breadth runs in long windings the river."<sup>115</sup> With his arrival at Leeds the journal ceases.

#### IV.

It is time to bring together our scattered impressions of our two travelers. With reference to politics we have found Addison more inter-

<sup>114</sup> *Id.*, p. 265.

<sup>115</sup> *Works*, ed. Gosse, i, 279.

ested than Gray. The latter only rarely alludes to governments, and at the time of his Continental journey had not yet given the subject much thought. Addison, on the other hand, as we have seen, had a keen interest in political affairs. It will be remembered that the verses which brought him his Magdalen demyship in 1689 were on the subject *Inauguratio Regis Gulielmi*; in 1695 he produced a flattering *Address to King William*; and his verses on "The Peace of Ryswick" in 1697 impressed Edmund Smith as "the best Latin poem since the *Æneid*." If Addison designed in these years to take orders, it was not because religion absorbed his attention, but rather because the clerical career was in those days regarded by many as a means of avoiding financial embarrassment, and success therein was frequently assured through discreet political activity.<sup>116</sup> The mere retaining of his Magdalen fellowship can hardly have been a dominating motive for taking orders; for even without this he held the fellowship till 1711.

In the expression of religious and theological opinions Addison is far more outspoken than Gray. The latter has less to say on these subjects; one gathers from what he does say, however, that he was an eager though not always sympathetic observer of the rites of the Roman Church. On the whole he makes very few criticisms of religious beliefs or practices.

<sup>116</sup> Courthope, *Addison*, p. 43.

In the appreciation and criticism of art we must pronounce Gray far superior. It is true that one of Addison's motives for saying so little about the paintings in Rome was possibly that he thought others had treated the subject better than he could, and another was that he was writing for a public little interested in the criticism of painting. Still, several readings of his travels convince me that he cared little for the art of painting; sculpture, especially ancient sculpture, appealed to him far more. Had Greek and Roman painting more largely survived, Addison might have been less indifferent to this form of art. Gray was far more attentive to painting than to sculpture. In his notes on Rome, for example, he catalogues more than two hundred and fifty paintings with some comment on almost every one; of pieces of sculpture he mentions specifically not more than forty. In judging a picture he was likely to note the propriety of the subject and treatment, the correctness of the drawing, characteristics of the painter, and the state of preservation. His taste led him, in general, to the best pictures accessible, and he made few mistakes of judgment. Perhaps he is most at variance with modern views in his dislike of Andrea del Sarto. There were, of course, many art treasures which for some reason he did not see at all, or on which, at least, he has left no comments. Many pictures, too, he doubtless

saw in a poor light, and hence could not do them justice. The Borghese paintings, for example, were at that time in a wretched condition,<sup>117</sup> and could not be seen to advantage.

On the subject of architecture we find little in the writings of either traveler that is of much importance. Neither writer at this period of his life had fully awakened to the significance of architectural design or its influence upon the senses. Addison, it is true, compares St. Peter's to a Gothic cathedral to the disadvantage of the latter,<sup>118</sup> and decides that the cross form is better for large buildings than the rotund. Gray is severe on the tawdry effects of Versailles; he describes the Pitti Palace with care and accuracy; he pronounces the Roman Capitol "in a very noble taste." Yet neither writer on the whole gives as much attention to describing buildings or even to architectural details as a present day writer would be likely to do. Of the impression left by the Duomo or S. Croce in Florence, S. Marco or the Doges' Palace in Venice, or the Castello del Ovo in Naples, upon either writer, we have no record. They were then more interested in other things.

We have already inspected Addison's quotations and noted his indifference to modern

<sup>117</sup> Gray, *Works*, ed. Mitford, iv, 230f.

<sup>118</sup> *Works*, ed. Bohn, i, 417.

writers and to prose both ancient and modern. It is singular that Gray, who was well read in Italian,<sup>119</sup> and not at all blind to the merits of the modern writers, does not, in describing his travels, quote from any modern writer; and the quotations he does make, for example in the pages describing Naples and its environs, are all from the Latin poets. If he sought for the haunts of Dante in Florence, of Petrarch at Parma or Milan or Padua, or of Tasso or Ariosto at Ferrara, he makes no mention of it in either his letters or his notes. From a literary point of view Italy was for him primarily, as it was for Addison, the land of Virgil, Silius Italicus, Statius, Martial, Livy, and Tully.

It is in respect to Nature that the most considerable contrast is seen between the two. We have already noted Addison's attitude, and observed how he generally prefers the milder aspects of Nature. Gray, even in his youth—and we may well believe the passion did not lessen, but rather increased with years—loved Nature in all her aspects. For him the personal discomfort incident to the hardships of Alpine travel in those days was as nothing to the delight with which he viewed the varied and majestic scenery.<sup>120</sup> He sounded a new note in literature, a note which has not ceased

<sup>119</sup> Cf. *Letters*, ed. Tovey, i, 15, note 1.

<sup>120</sup> Contrast Walpole's attitude, e.g., *Letters*, ed. Mrs. Toynbee, i, 93.

to be associated with rich harmonies, when he wrote in the album of the Grande Chartreuse:

Præsentio rem et conspicimus Deum  
Per invias rupes, fera per juga,  
Clivosque præruptos, sonantes  
Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem;  
Quàm si repostus sub trabe citrea  
Fulgeret auro, et Phidiaca manu.

The question how far each writer is typical of his generation is too large to answer here; my space having already been exhausted. I can only record my impression that Addison is somewhat more typical than Gray, who seems in some respects to be in advance of his times. This is especially true, I think, of his treatment of Nature.

Finally, how great was the influence of his travels on each writer? Much less, I think, on Addison than on Gray. The *Dialogues on Medals* reveal few specific traces of influence of the scene amid which they were written.<sup>121</sup> In some issues of *The Tatler*, *The Spectator*, and *The Guardian*,<sup>122</sup> Addison draws on his Continental experiences. With Addison's *Letter from Italy* may be compared Gray's *Farewell to Florence*, *Fragment on the Gaurus*, *Elegiacs* from Trebia,

<sup>121</sup> In *Works*, ed. Bohn, i, 259, he notes the familiarity of Carraccio, Raphael, LeBrun, and Rubens with medals. and in ii, 215, he refers to Correggio's *Cupid and Mercury*.

<sup>122</sup> E.g., *The Tatler*, No. 93; *The Spectator*, Nos. 15, 25, 42, 83, 393; *The Guardian*, Nos. 101, 104; *The Freeholder*, No. 30.



*Carmen ad Favonium*, *Alcaic Ode*, and some fragments. With the numberless ways in which their experiences as travelers doubtless entered into their lives and, though without being detected, into their writings, we cannot further deal here. That the lives of both, however, were richer and more useful as a result of these experiences, the careful reader can have little doubt.

## THE PLAYS OF EDWARD SHARPHAM

BY MARTIN W. SAMPSON, M.A.

Very little is known of Edward Sharpham, save that he was the son of Richard Sharpham of Devonshire, that he became a member of the Middle Temple in 1594, and that he was the author of a comedy, *The Fleire* (S. R. 13 May and 21 Nov. 1606), and the probable author of another comedy, *Cupid's Whirligig* (S. R. 29 June 1607). Each of these plays was printed at least four times between 1607 and 1631, and neither play has since, I think, been reprinted. Reprinting would doubtless be an undeserved distinction, but a note on the plays will hardly be out of place.

Hitherto they have received but scant comment:—the index to Ward's *Dramatic Literature* makes no mention of Sharpham or of the plays; Collier (*Dram. Poetry*, ii, 502) incidentally refers to a quotation from Marlowe in *The Fleire*; Genest (x, 94) sketches the plot of *The Fleire* and calls it a "tolerable comedy,"—*Cupid's Whirligig* (not assigned to an author) being promptly dismissed without outline, as "a poor play with nothing to commend it

except some low humour in the dialogue" (x, 93); the several editions of Langbaine and his successors in the *Biographia Dramatica* mention Sharpham and the plays but briefly, as does Schelling (*Eliz. Dr.* i, 518); and Fleay's comment (*Biog. Chron.* ii, 232), besides being brief, contains two errors: 6 May for 13 May, the date of entry (Halliwell<sup>1</sup> and Hazlitt<sup>2</sup> make the same mistake), and 1621 for 1631, the date of the fourth edition, respectively, of *The Fleire*.

"A Comedie called *The fleare*" was entered to John Trundell and John Busbye 13 May 1606, "Provided that they are not to printe yt tell they bringe good aauthoritie and licence for the Doinge thereof" (Arber, iii, 321). On 21 Nov. of the same year another entry (Arber, iii, 333) notes the assignment of the book from John Trundell to John Busbie and Arthure Johnson, with the authority of Sir George Bucke (at that time deputy to the master of the revels). The four extant impressions are of 1607, 1610, 1615, and 1631, the last three of which were printed for Nathaniel Butter. The four editions exhibit only unimportant variations: each later edition is printed, practically page for page, from the edition immediately preceding, and the differences in spelling, etc., are only those that would naturally occur in a rapid setting up where there was no intention to

<sup>1</sup> *Dict. Old Eng. Plays.*

<sup>2</sup> *Handbook.*

reprint literatim. There are no additions or changes in the substance of the text; and as the apology of the publisher to the effect that he has lost the author's preface,<sup>3</sup> and cannot learn the author's whereabouts, appears in all the editions, it is safe to say that from first to last the text underwent no critical revision before reprinting.

The first edition—the only one, therefore, that need be considered—is a quarto, the text running from sig. B<sup>1</sup>, to H<sup>4</sup>, 56 pages. The title page reads:

The | Fleire. | As it hath beene often played in the  
| Blacke-Fryers by the Children of | the Reuells. |  
Written by Edward Sharpham of the. | Middle  
Temple, Gentle- | man. | At London, | Printed and  
are to be solde by F. B.<sup>4</sup> in Paules-Church- | yard, at  
the signe of the Flower de Luce and the | Crowne.  
1607.

The play is in prose and verse, a good deal of the latter being printed as prose, from which, to be frank, it is not always readily distinguishable. The acts are marked, but the scenes are not indicated. There is no list of the characters, who (excluding servants) number sixteen, five of them being women. The publisher's preface declares that the play is the author's "first

<sup>3</sup> The loss of this preface is the more to be regretted, as it might perhaps have thrown a side light on current theatrical matters.

<sup>4</sup> Francis Burton.

Minerua," and promises more if this is acceptable.

The date of performance may be said with reasonable certainty to be not earlier than 1605, first because of the omission of the words "Her Majesty's" from the Children's title, and second because of the obvious resemblance of the chief character in the play to the chief character in Marston's *Parasitaster, or The Fawne* (S. R. 12 March 1606), a play which was given, as the first edition (1606) states, in the Blackfriars by the children of Her Majesty's Revels, and "since at Poules," as the second edition (also of 1606) notes. This would indicate that *The Fawne* was taken over by the Paul's children after the *Eastward Ho* trouble at Blackfriars in 1605, and that a new play with the same kind of leading figure was substituted for it in the Revels children's repertory. On the other hand, the jests about Englishmen turned Britons would imply the earliest date compatible with the foregoing facts. The date of *The Fleire* would then seem to fall in 1605-6.

The title of the play, *Fleire*, is a word made up, after the manner of Marston's word, *Fawne*, by using as a noun the verb-form, instead of the more logical but less forcible 'fleerer,' or 'fawner.' 'Fleer,' which has preserved a place in our language, means to laugh mockingly, to sneer or gibe, a meaning which sufficiently suggests the title personage of the comedy.

With the similarity of Duke Antifront, disguised as the Fleire, to Duke Hercules, disguised as the Fawne, the important resemblance between the plays really ends: the plots are not the same. Of *The Fleire*, much of the plot and most of the personages are fundamentally unpleasant. The story centers in the deposed Duke of Florence, who, in disguise, has left Italy to search for his daughters; he finds them courtesans in London, enters their service as usher, and finally brings about their marriages to their lovers. Jealous intrigues, supposed murders, and much buffoonery figure in the play, whose main object, however, is to give Fleire a chance to comment bitingly on the vices and follies of the day. The play, then, is a satirical comedy of manners and customs, and not a romance, or, strictly speaking, a comedy of intrigue, either of which its mere story might permit it to be.

The play has an over-symmetrical supply of characters to meet the demands of the plot. Two men of title are in love with the two courtesans; two sisters are in love with two gentlemen, and disguise themselves as pages in the hope of entering the gentlemen's service. This proving impossible, they enter the service of the men of title. The courtesans woo the gentlemen, and being refused by them, decide on poisoning them with the help of the men of title. Fleire, who has been on the stage almost incessantly,

santly, a confidant of every one, now disguises himself as an apothecary and sells the would-be murderers a harmless sleeping potion; and then, disguised as a judge, presides at their murder trial. The play ends with marriages arranged between the courtesans and their lovers, and the gentlemen and the sister pages; and the unexpected restoration of Antifront, the Fleire, to his dukedom. Two or three other characters drift through the play, but they are "humours," not essentially connected with the plot.

The movement of the play is in the main slow, but the dialogue is rapid when the action lags. Many of Fleire's jests are keen, and in his tilts with the other characters he always scores. The playing at cross-purposes which forms the entanglement denotes a fondness for paradox which Sharpham exhibits freely in his dialogue as well as in his plot. The characters, as originally conceived, are sufficiently varied to carry on the plot effectively, but their speech is so much in one key that the sense of variety is lost.

The entire first act is taken up with the presentation of the characters, Fleire's entrance into service, and Nan and Susan's determination to disguise themselves as pages. The scene in which a gull, Petoune, "a great Tobacconist," is chaffed by the four gallants, Sir John, Piso, Spark, and Ruffell, is fairly typical of the style of the dialogue in general:

*Spa.* Sure Ladies I must needes say th' instinct of this herb hath wrought in this Gentleman such a diuine influence of good words, excellēt discourse, admirable inuention, incōparable wit: why I tel yee, when he talkes, wisdom stands a mile off and dares not come neere him, for feare a should shame her: but before a did vse this Tobacco, a was the arrantst Woodcock that euer I saw.

*Pet.* Indeed I was a very silly fellow.

*Ruff.* Nay you were an arrant asse.

*Pet.* Sure I was a foole.

*Kni.* Nay, you were a most monstrous puppie.

*Pet.* Indeed I was an idiot, a verie Idiot.

*Piso.* By this light thou wert a most egregious coxcombe.

*Pet.* Indeed I was, indeed I was.

A good contrast to this follows in the gallant's tilt with Fleire, in which the tables are turned.

The second act advances the story only to the point where, gently refused by Spark and Ruffell, Florida and Felecia crave revenge. Most of the act is taken up by Fleire, who is on the stage the entire time, conversing confidentially with all the leading characters in turn, and proffering help in their several designs.

In the third act, wooed by letters from Piso and Sir John, Florida and Felecia determine to use their lovers to further their own revenge. Fleire encourages the further wooing of his daughters and incidentally helps to persuade Petoune to woo the bawd Fromaga.



It is not until the fourth act that the scheme of revenge matures. After Petoune's ludicrous wooing of Fromaga, Florida and Felecia (overheard by Fleire, Nan, and Susan) induce their accepted lovers to poison the two gallants. Fleire and the girl-pages determine to prevent the murder. The scene shifts: "Enter Signior Alunio the Apothecarie in his shop with his wares about him." Fleire appears in disguise; "in happie time," for Alunio wishes to go to Italy and needs some one to look after the shop in his absence. Fleire declares himself to be a Florentine, and forthwith he is appointed to the vacant position. Alunio goes out, Sir John and Piso come in, and Fleire sells them the sleeping potion instead of the poison.

The fifth act comes at once to the news of the gallants' death and the announcement of the trial. Fleire, by the simple stratagem of sending the ring of an absent judge, imposes himself on the court, Portia-like; tries the case, and reveals the whole plan and his own device for preventing mischief; and all ends happily,—young Piso, whose father, the Duke of Florence has just died, resigning his claims in favor of Fleire. >

This rough abstract is not unjust to the play so far as its plot is concerned, but it lays no stress on the brisk (and not usually quotable) dialogue in which consists the life of the play. Quite outside of the plot, for instance, is the

satirical description by Spark and Ruffell of the people they saw in hell during the time that the sleeping potion was effective. The distribution of speeches throughout the play, it should be said, is notably good. The failure to emphasize the motive for the courtesans' proffer of their love to Spark and Ruffell instead of to Piso and Sir John, is the main flaw in the logic of the plot.

In the British Museum copy of the first edition of the play, there are *ms* alterations in a seventeenth century hand. Some one, it would appear, had set about improving the play, partly by cuts in the dialogue but chiefly by omitting the two characters, Piso and Susan. This change, which shows the right dramatic impatience of duplicated characters, would, if carried out, necessitate some rewriting as well as excision; but the unknown reviser attempts only curtailment, and does not fully carry out even this intention.

Besides the essential likeness of Fleire to Fawne, there are some minor allusions and little borrowings in the play. The jokes about Petoune's red nose were better done when the nose was Bardolph's; Nan and Susan's talk about their suitors remotely recalls Portia and Nerissa's scene; Fromaga resembles Juliet's nurse; there are references to "Thisbe in the play," and to Marlowe's "pampered Iades of Asia;" and now and then belated euphuism

colors the speech. The similarity of Fleire's application for employment to Kent's application to Lear, and its bearing on the date of *King Lear* I have commented on elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> If the similarity be admitted, and if Sharpham be regarded as the borrower from Shakespeare and not Shakespeare from Sharpham (a hardly tenable hypothesis), then the date hitherto regarded as the latest possible for the writing of *Lear* must be moved forward several months, from some time before 26 December 1606 (the first recorded performance of *Lear*) to some time before 13 May, 1606, the date of entry of *The Fleire*.

*Cupid's Whirligig* appeared in 1607, 1611, 1616, and 1630, dates that preserve a fairly close parallel with the dates of *The Fleire*, but that warrant no definite conclusion concerning authorship. The first three editions were printed for Arthur Johnson, and the fourth for R. Meighen. The relation of the four editions to one another is the same as that existing among the four editions of the other play; there are no changes of moment. The title page of the first edition reads:

Cupids | Whirligig. | As it hath bene sundry times  
Acted | by the Children of the Kings Majesties |  
Reuels. | London. | Imprinted by E. Alde, and are  
to bee solde by Arthur | Iohnson, at the signe of the

<sup>5</sup> *Mod. Lang. Quarterly*, July, 1902, p. 71.

white Horse, nere | the great North doore of Saint |  
Paules Church. | 1607.

The play is in prose and verse, most of the latter printed as prose; acts are indicated, scenes not; a list of characters precedes, and a prologue follows, the author's dedication, which is signed "E: S." Besides these initials there is nothing to establish the authorship of the comedy. Phillips in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675, ascribed the play to Thomas Goffe (b. 1591!), as did Winstanley in his *Lives*, 1687;<sup>6</sup> Langbaine, 1691, puts it among the plays by unknown authors. The 1782 *Biographia Dramatica* quotes the statement of Coxeter that an old bookseller had told him that the play had been falsely entered as Shakespeare's to make it sell. (There is no other evidence of this rumored ascription to Shakespeare, and the actual entry in the Stationers' Register—Arber, iii, 354—mentions no author's name.) Oldys, Haslewood, and others, in their MS annotations of Langbaine (Br. M. copies of the book), make no additional mention of the play. As far as I know, it was Stephen Jones, in his 1812 edition of the *Biog. Dram.*, who first said that the play was probably Sharpham's. Halliwell (*Dict. Old Plays*,

<sup>6</sup> Langbaine, in the preface to his *Momus Triumphans*, explains that this ascription is due to the carelessness of Phillips in copying Kirkman's 1671 list, and in attributing all anonymous plays to whatever author had been mentioned immediately before.

1860) also names Sharpham as the probable author. The Br. M. Catalogue queries the ascription to Sharpham; but the 1836 Catalogue of Malone's books in the Bodleian enters the play (qualified by "Anon.") under Sharpham's name. Halkett and Laing assign definitely to Sharpham; as does Fleay, who offers no proof. Greg (*List of English Plays*, 1900) and Schelling (*Eliz. Drama*, 1908) also make the definite assignment.

That the play is by Sharpham is highly likely, —a number of things point pretty clearly that way; but the evidence is not conclusive beyond all doubt.

The dedication "To his much honoured, beloved, respected, and iudiciall friend, Maister Robert Hayman," written in antithetic vein, affords some reason for thinking E. S. to be Edward Sharpham. The Robert Hayman referred to can hardly be other than the sometime governor of the Harbor-Grace plantation in Newfoundland, and the author of "Quodlibets, lately come over from New Britaniola, Old Newfoundland. Epigrams and other small parcels." . . . (published 1628), and of "Certaine Epigrams out of the first foure Bookes of the excellent Epigrammatist Master, John Owen," 1628 (in the volume translated from Joannes Owen are also two "rayling epistles" of "Rablais"). In neither volume do I find reference to Sharpham. But, like Sharpham,

Hayman was a Devonian and an Inns-of-Court man, having been at Lincoln's Inn when Sharpsham was at the Middle Temple. An examination of the play will show other indications of Sharpsham's probable authorship.

The plot of *Cupid's Whirligig*, although less repulsive than that of *The Fleire*, is in detail coarser: a brief outline will therefore suffice. Sir Timothy Troublesome is violently, but causelessly, jealous of his wife, and confusedly divides his time between laying plans to prove her infidelity and begging forgiveness for his baseless suspicions. The Lady herself is much annoyed by the persistent attentions of the young Lord Nonsuch, who, repulsed in his own person, vainly seeks, through one disguise after another, to gain her favor, regardless of his father's wish that he should marry Nan, the Alderman's daughter. A Welshman, Nuecome, seems to be in love with Nan, who holds him in scorn, but her friend Peg views him with a favorable eye. Maister Correction, a pedant, has as wife an amiable bawd, with whom Wages, Sir Timothy's serving man, is in love. Through intrigues and schemes, slow of movement, but set forth in animated dialogue, the action finally centres in the brisk scene which gives the play its title:—Lady Troublesome begs her husband to overcome his jealousy and believe in her faithful love, but in a rage Sir Timothy leaves her; the young Lord Nonsuch enters and prof-

fers once more his pity and his love, but the Lady scornfully goes out; Nan comes in and frankly declares her love; but Nonsuch runs away from her; Nuecome appears and endeavors to woo her, but Nan flies from his affectionate metaphors; Peg enters, but her soft entreaties arouse no tender feeling in Nuecome, who leaves the stage; and then Sir Timothy reënters and avows his love to Peg, who bids him seek elsewhere. Cupid who from some coign of vantage has observed the entire scene, correctly declares that his whirligig has swung completely round, and that now the right couples shall be united. Through a quadruple masked wedding this is brought about, and the play ends with the proper arrangement of lovers and spouses, only Wages being left without a partner.

The play has two points of resemblance to *The Fawne*,—the presence of Cupid, and the similarity of Sir Timothy to Marston's Don Zuccone. One incident in the fourth act is taken from the *Decameron*, vii, 6.<sup>7</sup> Sir Timothy calls his hungry servant a "pampered Iade" for complaining (Launcelot Gobbo fashion) of his scanty food, and the same knight's apostrophe to women recalls Hamlet's "What a piece of work is a man!" Nuecome's notion that he has "a reasonable good legge" was antici-

<sup>7</sup> This very slight indebtedness to Boccaccio does not warrant Fleay's remark that the play is "founded on" the *Decameron*. Schelling also overestimates the debt.

pated by Master Stephen in *Every Man in His Humour*. An allusion to *The Valiant Welshman* is noted by Fleay: this play was published in 1615 and its date of performance is uncertain. The allusion (*Biog. Chron.* gives no reference) seems to be only a remark addressed to Nuecome, a Welshman: "They say to, moste of your Countriemen are verie valiant" (Act ii). The following image—"The world it selfe is but a skillfull game at chesses, which beeing ended, Kinges and Queenes, Bishops and Knightes into one bags (*sic*) are throwne at last"—appeared in *Jacke Drums Entertainment* (1601) thus:

"And after death like Chesmen hauing stood  
In play for Bishops, some for Knights, and Pawnes,  
We all together shall be tumbled vp, into one bagge—"

An interesting anticipation of Burns occurs in the second act:—"Man was made when nature was but an apprentice, but woman when she was a skilfull Mistresse of her Arte."

The points that *Cupid's Whirligig* has in common with *The Fleire* make reasonable the hypothesis of one author for the two plays. A certain whimsical complication in the slow-moving plot, the mocking tone of the dialogue, the jests (*i.e.*, those upon puritans, tobacco, and "inns-a-court men"), the coarseness of language, the use of disguises, the sufficiently obvious reminiscences of Shakespeare (*cf.* Prof. Dowden's edition of *Romeo and Juliet*), the unpoetical verse, the mock-heroic rant, the limited range



of the dramatis personæ,—indicate one hand rather than two. These marks, however, are frequent enough in the comedy of the time to prevent the evidence from being conclusive; but, all things considered, there is much more to say in behalf of Sharpham's authorship of *Cupid's Whirligig* than against it.

The brief article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* rightly casts doubt on the ascriptions to Sharpham of the verses signed "E. S." in Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britannia*: the verses have nothing of Sharpham's manner, so far as it is revealed in the plays. Among the laudatory verses prefixed to John Davies' *Humours Heau'n on Earth* (1605) is a sonnet signed "Ed: Sharpell." This, as the *D. N. B.* says, may be by Sharpham: it is certainly not unlike his style.

## A NOTE ON THE VERSE STRUCTURE OF CAREW

BY CHARLES J. SEMBOWER, PH.D.

Carew is perhaps best remembered as the first master in English of courtly, amorous verse. The aim of his art is compliment, but compliment so skillfully turned that it may invite the unembarrassed scrutiny of its object, and please insensibly. It seems, in fact, to urge a thing so reasonable that to reject it as compliment is to reject the truth. The tone of it, meanwhile, is of that indefinable vivacity, that gayety of spirit which can be neither affected nor easily acquired, coming, as it does, from a sincere desire to please.

Considered merely as an art, none is more difficult. Upon an instrument of narrowly limited range, the poet must achieve, seemingly without effort, a great variety of effects. He must at once be freely spontaneous and carefully restrained; he must affect familiar ease of manner and yet conform with delicate tact to the established canons of good taste; he must possess wit without pedantry; and, though he is compelled by the premises of his art to be

faithfully realistic, his appeal to self-love must be refined of all its grossness. In a word, the coterie poet must be a master in the hyperbole of compliment.

All this, and more, has been effected by Carew, without resorting to the usual means of attaining it. Poets who have succeeded in this art of fanciful gallantry have generally shown great ingenuity in the invention of novel metrical forms. Originality in this respect has served to safeguard them against the inherent monotony of their appeal. But upon such devices Carew depended scarcely at all. Even of metrical lightness and coquetry, such as is found, for instance, in the best verses of Suckling, there is very little. Indeed, the octosyllabics and pentameters of Carew, admirable as they are for their exquisite fineness and wholeness of texture, seem at times, for the purpose of *vers de société*, almost too sedate.

Carew's stanzaic structure is simple. The most common form, perhaps, is the six-line stanza, riming ab, ab, cc, of which "Mediocrity in Love Rejected" is a good example. This poem has but two stanzas: the first rimes ab, ab, giving a completed phase of the appeal, plus the couplet cc, which has the effect of epigrammatic enforcement; the second is rimed ab, ab, cc, dd, in which the cc is not this time an epigrammatic enforcement of the ab, ab, but fused with it by means of an overflow of the ab, ab

lines into the couplet. The recurrence of the epigrammatic theme is thus delayed for a moment to reappear in the concluding dd couplet. A very common form, too, is a five-line stanza, ab, abb; it gives a neat and compact effect, but otherwise is not found to be of interest. The quatrain form, aa, bb, frequently occurs. This form is at first a little hard to understand. Why should the couplets be printed in pairs? Upon second glance, however, the reason for this stanzaic spacing becomes plain. Each set of four lines is held together by a unity both grammatical and rhetorical, and by unity of structure and function constitutes a distinct whole. The poem moves forward by fours, and is frequently terminated by an epigrammatic couplet. Another form is a ten-line stanza, as in "A Deposition from Love," riming ab ab / cd cd / ee, in which the quatrains express distinct stages of the thought, linked by the illative phrase 'yet I believe'; the concluding couplet gives the usual epigrammatic reflection. There is also a "sonnet form" with the following rime scheme, ab ba / ab ba / ab ba / bb, which is, of course, only a sonnet in the sense of having fourteen lines. This brief account of some of the commoner stanzaic forms of Carew is intended merely to suggest what is meant by saying that with him the stanza is not an important element of structure. It may be incidentally remarked that the longer stanzas

are in effect about midway between purely stanzaic effects and those of the couplet and blank verse.

Likewise, it may be said that Carew was far from being an originator in respect to his employment of the couplet. His couplets have a stately onward movement. The cesura shifts gracefully, and the rimes chime variously and melodiously, as for instance in 'Secrecy Protested,' where 'reveal and steal' are followed by 'sun and done,' 'we and he,' 'dart and heart,' 'tell and dwell,' 'out and doubt,' 'view and true,' 'fear and there.' In brief, Carew's couplets are smooth and flexible, and in respect to correctness are a distinct advance beyond most of the verse of his time; but even so, they furnish only the whole cloth, so to speak, out of which his poems are made.

The important aspects of Carew's structure are (1) variety in length of line, (2) rhetorical grouping of lines into "verse-paragraphs," and (3) an illative method of development in the construction of the poem as a whole. These three aspects of structure will be briefly considered, by this paper, in turn.

Carew's audience expected of him ease, grace, and novelty; but at the same time it expected him to expend in attaining these qualities no more effort than was in keeping with his character of gentleman and courtier. In attempting to adapt himself to these conditions of his art,

he did not resort as we have seen to variety of metrical effects or to intricate stanzaic structure. He did, however, for the sake of variety, resort to the simple device of varying the length of line. Thus, he gave himself more scope both for variety of movement and for a more frequently recurrent echo of rime. At times, it must be admitted, the effect seems hardly organic; it is rather that of variety merely for the sake of variety, as in the following stanza, which is scarcely more than a group of octosyllabic couplets varied by shortening the third and seventh lines, and by lengthening the fourth and eighth:

“O think not, Phoebe, ’cause a cloud  
Doth now thy silver brightness shroud,  
My wand’ring eye  
Can stoop to common beauties of the sky.  
Rather be kind, and this eclipse  
Shall neither hinder eye nor lips;  
For we shall meet  
Within our hearts, and kiss, and none shall see’t.”

Here, in a sense, is variety of movement; but a variety which as such is not organically expressive. As one turns page after page, variety even of this kind is pleasant enough with its appearance of newness and promise of relief; but nevertheless this refreshment does not in the end justify itself. The reader’s eye and ear are relieved for the moment, but he soon finds that a monotonous adjustment of attention is required of him in spite of the apparent dif-

ference of appeal. When, however, the variety is really organic and the attention—by the help of the form—makes a new adjustment, and finds the new music the harmony of a new meaning, the artistic sense is at once refreshed and satisfied. This is what, at his best, Carew does. To illustrate this point, let us take “Love’s Courtship.” It will be found in this instance, I think, that the variation of length of line justifies itself immediately, because its function is organic:

Kiss, lovely Celia, and be kind;  
Let my desires freedom find,  
    Sit thee down,  
And we will make the gods confess  
Mortals enjoy some happiness.

Mars would disdain his mistress’ charms  
If he beheld thee in my arms,  
    And descend,  
Thee his mortal queen to make:  
Or live as mortal for thy sake.

Venus must lose her title now,  
And leave to brag of Cupid’s bow;  
    Silly Queen!  
She hath but one, but I can spy  
Ten thousand Cupids in thy eye.

Nor may the sun behold our bliss,  
For sure thy eyes do dazzle his;  
    If thou fear  
That he’ll betray thee with his light,  
Let me eclipse thee from his sight!

And while I shade thee from his eye  
Oh! let me hear thee gently cry,  
Celia yields! etc.

In this case each of the short lines suggests something pertinent to the general effect, from the brevity of "Sit thee down" and the archness of "Silly Queen!" to the sudden delight of "Celia yields!"

We may now turn to the second important element in Carew's structure, the "verse-paragraphs," for illustration taking one of his best-known poems, "Persuasions to Love." Here the structure seems at first glance to be merely that of successive octosyllabic couplets. But upon closer reading the couplets are found to group themselves into skillfully built up paragraphs. The first, beginning,

Think not, 'cause men flattering say  
You're fresh as April, sweet as May,  
Bright as is the morning star,  
That you are so;

argues through logical stages dealing with the inadvisability of pride, and of niggardliness with the beauty that is given the lady to be enjoyed, to the conclusion that

'twere a madness not to grant  
That which affords (if you consent)  
To you, the giver, more content  
Than me, the beggar.



And the next stave, beginning,

.....Oh, then be  
Kind to yourself, if not to me.

presses home this phase of the argument in twelve lines of amplification which is easy, graceful, and logically developed. It is not difficult in some of these "verse-paragraphs" to get the gist of the meaning, as in certain of the best prose-paragraphs—say Burke's—by reading the first and last lines of the group.

Indeed, in the verse of Carew—and this brings us to the third element of his verse-structure—the reader constantly feels the attraction and interest of progress, step by step, toward a goal. As the eye runs along the page, it is arrested at the beginning of the staves, or "verse-paragraphs," by such conjunctions, and conjunctive phrases as the following: "*Then* had you reason," "*Thereby* make me to pine," "*For* that same lovely face will fail," "O love me, *then*, and now begin it," "*Then* wisely choose one for your friend," "*For* when the storms of time have moved," "O *then*, be wise, and whilst your season," "*Yet*, I confess, I cannot spare," "*Though* these be powerful arguments to prove I love in vain, yet I must ever love," "*Now* hear, just Judge, an act of savageness," "*Thus* hath this cruel lady used a true servant." These instances might be extended almost indefinitely. The effect of

reasonable argument suggested by them is at once obvious and significant. It helps to abate the purely personal element in compliment, while at the same time, it heightens the flavour of self-love, and prolongs pleasant self-contemplation. This inferential method of developing the whole poem was new to English verse, at least in the degree in which Carew employed it, when he began to write. The Elizabethans had been "sweet,"—consciously and deliberately poetical; and in this respect they and Carew are not unlike. But, though there are traces of the illative method in the Elizabethans, and more than merely traces in some of Carew's contemporaries, yet on the whole these poets give rather the impression of being impulsive and spontaneous in the ordinary sense of those words. They jet forth, so to speak, feathery sprays of sentiment that alternately burst out and subside. The element of variety in their lyrics (I speak in very general terms) is that given—to continue the figure—by the shifting of the breeze, or by a chance play of light and shadow. Such a fountain may be watched for a moment with real interest—its elusive grace attracts again and again,—but if one sits before it for an hour's entertainment, its beauty becomes monotonous. This is not so in the case of Carew. His method is not the best, perhaps, for the expression of a "lyrical cry," nor, indeed for the expression of lyrical feeling from any

very deep source. Such lyrical feeling wells up spontaneously from the innermost depths of personality. Its source is the source of life itself; and it most tellingly embodies itself in forms correspondingly unmethodical and free. But the intellect, too, has its desire for play, and sometimes wishes the fancy to give way to it for a moment, as too often—take poetry all in all—the intellect has had, in the name of spontaneity, to give place to what may claim to be lyrical only because it is the very caprice of willfulness.

Carew's moments of the deepest inspiration are rare. But he is a true poet none the less, and he shows it most in recognizing his limitations and in developing his art within them. In this regard he is, I think, not unlike two of his French contemporaries, Malherbe and Voiture. Anyone fresh from reading these lyrists across the Channel will hardly question this assertion. Like Carew, they are adepts in the art of poetical compliment, and it may be that they helped him in more ways than one,—in the choice of right material, perhaps, and in striking the true note in the treatment of it. And both, but Malherbe in particular, in affecting to compel assent to their flattery, assume that air of reasonableness which has been spoken of in connection with Carew. As an example of this manner in Malherbe, we may take his "Épigramme, Writ in Calista's Prayer Book."

Tant que vous serez sans amour,  
Calista, priez nuit et jour,  
Vous n'aurez point miséricorde;  
Ce n'est pas que Dieu ne soit doux:  
Mais pensez-vous qu'il vous accorde  
Ce qu'on ne peut de vous?

If Carew's range is narrow, he achieves in spite of it what is a very difficult artistic success, the avoidance of satiety while keeping within a small circle of interests, and that, too with no evidence of effort beyond what is pleurably inherent in the limitations of his art. And he succeeds in it mainly, I think, by means of this pseudo-logical appeal. To be sure, the silken smoothness of his versification, the winning grace of his cesural and line variations, the chiming of his melodious rime, are to be taken into account in trying to define the full strength of his appeal. But his choicest effect, perhaps, and the one most peculiarly his own, is that arch pretense of logic which, step by step, shows the amorous acceptance to be a matter of necessity. It is the intellect decking itself in the garb of fancy; the illative sense at play with sentiment.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GHOST IN HAMLET

BY WILLIAM STRUNK, JR., PH.D.

*Hamlet* holds a unique position among Shakespeare's plays by reason of the challenge which it has offered to interpretation. As a whole and in its details the play has been the subject of more discussion than any other of its author's works. The judgments passed upon Hamlet's conduct have been of the most diverse kind, and correspondingly diverse theories have been formulated to account for his delay in carrying out his task, or to disprove that such delay exists. Not a few students of the tragedy, among whom may be mentioned J. Halliwell-Phillipps (*Memoranda on Hamlet*, 1879, pp. 6-7), have after long study expressed their conviction that the mystery of the play is insoluble.

Since modern research has tended to lend support to the hypothesis that *Hamlet*, in its received form, represents Shakespeare's revision and expansion of a first draft (represented imperfectly by the First Quarto, 1603), itself a rewriting of a lost play by Thomas Kyd,

other students, of whom one of the latest is Professor C. M. Lewis (*The Genesis of Hamlet*, 1907), have frankly admitted the inconsistencies of the text, accounting for them as resulting from the presence in the play of inharmonious material retained from the original source and from Shakespeare's first version. No attempt to formulate a comprehensive explanation of Hamlet's conduct, from that of Goethe in 1795 to the latest with which I am acquainted, that of Dr. Ernest Jones (*The American Journal of Psychology*, Jan., 1910), has been generally accepted as satisfactorily accounting for everything in the play. Consciously or unconsciously, all the critics disregard some of the data. Professor Lewis, for example, deems it justifiable to disregard, in estimating Hamlet's character, such details as the sending of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to their death, as Hamlet's remark about "perfect conscience," as his soliloquy on meeting the troops of Fortinbras. "The composite Hamlet is not an entity at all, and therefore not a subject for psychological analysis" (p. 133). Whether or not the reader is prepared to go quite so far as this, he will, I think, be ready to concede that the main desideratum in interpreting *Hamlet* is not to provide an answer for every difficult question that may be asked in connection with the play, but to discover, if that be possible, how Shakespeare intended his hero's

course of action to be regarded. And if the reader will concede that the data afforded by the text are partly irreconcilable,<sup>1</sup> he will agree that the question at once arises, which of these data are to be considered as beyond question significant.

In the opinion of the present writer, critics have hitherto, as a rule, overlooked the peculiar importance, in this connection, to be attributed to the utterances of the ghost. Nowhere have I seen it affirmed that the first step in the interpretation of *Hamlet* is to scrutinize the actions and utterances of the ghost, to note what it does and what it leaves undone, what it says and what it refrains from saying, and to regard the results of such scrutiny as the fundamental data of the play. True, in the course of the constant study to which the play has been subjected, the words of the ghost have not escaped notice, and his attitude towards Hamlet and his language have been cited in evidence of particular views. Thus Mr. Bradley says, with perfect justice (*Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 100), "Surely it is clear that, whatever we in the twentieth century may think about Hamlet's duty, we

<sup>1</sup> "Again it may be held without any improbability that, from carelessness or because he was engaged on this play for several years, Shakespeare left inconsistencies in his exhibition of the character which must prevent us from being certain of his ultimate meaning." A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 93.

are meant in the play to assume that he *ought* to have obeyed the Ghost;" and again (p. 139), "We construe the Ghost's interpretation of Hamlet's delay ('almost blunted purpose') as the truth, the dramatist's own interpretation." Dr. Francis Maurice Egan's essay (*The Ghost in Hamlet*, 1906) stands by itself as a discriminating study in which the ghost is constantly kept in the foreground. The distinction, however, which Dr. Egan draws between the exalted mission of the ghost, seeking only the salvation of Denmark and the preservation of his royal line, and Hamlet's sinful eagerness to exact vengeance by returning evil for evil, is one which I have difficulty in reading into the play. Still less can I see in this the chief concern of the play, and the cause of Hamlet's failure.

The play of *Hamlet* is characterized not merely by the presence of a supernatural being among its persons, but by the actual participation of this supernatural being in the action.<sup>3</sup> Unlike the ghost of Andrea in *The Spanish Tragedie*, a mere spectator of the mortal struggle in which his enemies perish, the ghost of Hamlet's father concerns himself practically in the scheme

<sup>3</sup> I am taking it for granted, in this paper, that the ghost is intended by Shakespeare as a genuine apparition, and not as a hallucination. This is so apparent that Professor Stoll (*The Objectivity of the Ghosts in Shakespeare, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, N.S. xv. 203) regards it as a point not calling for demonstration. The opposite opinion has been maintained with great ingenuity



of revenge. He communicates to Hamlet information which could have reached the Prince by no other channel, he demands revenge, prescribes in part the conditions of this revenge, and reappears to reprove the instrument of his revenge for lack of zeal. His supernatural quality places his words and actions in a category by themselves, by reason of which, above and beyond all else to be found in the play, they enable us to determine the dramatist's underlying conceptions of situation and character. I purpose justifying this view, and then pointing out some of the obvious consequences, if we apply it as a working principle.

Whether or not infallibility can be attributed to the ghost, it cannot be attributed to the mortal characters of the play. Students of the play cannot agree whether certain speeches (as, "He weeps for what is done," iv. i. 27) are to be taken as truth or falsehood; whether certain of Hamlet's doubts and hesitations (as his doubt of the genuineness of the ghost, ii. ii. 628; his fear of sending his uncle to heaven, iii. iii. 74) are real or feigned or the result of self-deception. In the utterances of the char-

by N. R. D'Alfonso (*Lo Spettro dell' Amleto, Rivista Italiana di Filosofia*, anno VIII, i. 358), but his analysis simply confirms in detail what Lessing had long since pointed out in a general way (*Hamburgische Dramaturgie* xi), namely, that the circumstances of the ghost's appearance are in perfect conformity with the accepted notions of the behavior of ghosts.

acters other than the ghost, we meet frequently with conscious deceit (lying and hypocrisy, dissembling and the feigning of madness), self-deception (particularly in the case of Hamlet), and constantly with the limitations arising from fallible judgment, lack of information, or similar causes. Of the human characters, Horatio, indeed, displays honesty, sincerity, and common sense, but admirable as he is, there seems to be a general agreement that his more prosaic nature fails to understand that of Hamlet. Further, Horatio is comparatively taciturn; he largely keeps his opinions to himself. Barring his seeming disapproval of Hamlet's way with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, his tardy remonstrance in the scene at Ophelia's grave, and his attempt to dissuade Hamlet from the fencing-match, Horatio seems to be ready to acquiesce in any opinion or action of Hamlet, once the story of the ghost has been repeated to him. It would be difficult to maintain that he is intended to be Shakespeare's mouthpiece. None of the human characters in the play sees the action steadily and sees it whole.

But do these limitations apply to the ghost, a supernatural being? Is he liable to error, to prejudice? Can he deceive others, or be himself deceived? The answer is best found by examining Shakespeare's practice with regard to similar beings in other plays. We find that

in *Richard III*, in *Julius Cæsar*, in *Macbeth*, in *Cymbeline*, in *The Winter's Tale* (the oracle), the supernatural beings, however diverse their nature, are alike in certain respects. They have sources of information denied to mortals. They are free from the encumbrances of mortal frailty, and so far as they take upon themselves the responsibility of speech and action, they possess virtual infallibility. The fairies of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* make ludicrous blunders, it is true, and show a plentiful lack of wisdom, but this is a comic phantasy. In *The Tempest* again, the spirits are not free agents; it is Prospero in whom the supernatural power is really centered. But in serious actions Shakespeare regularly represents the utterances of supernatural beings, when they appear on their own initiative, as possessing two characteristics: perfect truth (though the form of the statement may be such as to mislead erring mortals), and, so far as the purpose of the speaker is concerned, sufficiency for the end proposed.

The ghost, therefore, may be regarded, within reasonable limitations, as sharing this infallibility. He has passed beyond the possibility of mortal errors of judgment; he has sources of knowledge in which mortals have no part. He returns to earth from purgatory, not from heaven, for that would be incongruous with his demand for revenge; not from hell, for that would be incompatible with Hamlet's duty to

obey him. It may be pointed out that he knows the circumstances of his murder, though he was asleep when it was committed. Though there would have been no propriety in making him omniscient and omnipotent, he is, so far as concerns his own aims, all-sufficient both in knowledge and in judgment. He may have no minute prophetic knowledge of the future, but he knows when intervention is necessary and when he may safely trust Hamlet to attain revenge without further admonition. So far as his words throw light upon the nature of Hamlet's task, upon Hamlet's character, upon the efficiency with which Hamlet performs his task, they have an authority, and must have been intended by Shakespeare to have an authority, which gives them precedence over all the other data afforded by the play. Like Hamlet, we may say, "It is an honest ghost," and "take the ghost's word for a thousand pound." The words and actions of the ghost in many cases furnish the test by which we may determine the truth or falsity of the indications afforded by the other characters in the play.

One qualification must be made. In the attempt to attach significance to all that the ghost does and says, we must not overlook the requirements of dramatic structure. I would not argue for a hidden meaning in the circumstance that instead of appearing in Hamlet's bedchamber shortly after the murder, it waits

nearly two months and then appears first to the guards without the palace. The exposition here is similar to that in *Macbeth*, the first, second, and fourth scenes of *Hamlet* fulfilling the same functions as the first three of *Macbeth*. That the scene in which Hamlet and the ghost meet may make the proper impression, Shakespeare prepares for it by scenes in which these two characters are separately presented to us. Similarly, the ghost's beckoning Hamlet away (i. iv) leads to a demonstration of his courage, part of the preliminary exposition of his character, and provides a means of temporarily removing Horatio and Marcellus, in order that the interest may be concentrated upon the ghost's revelation and upon the manner in which Hamlet receives it. Nor would I lay stress upon the ghost's insistence that Horatio and Marcellus swear upon Hamlet's sword. Mysterious and impressive as the ghostly voice from below sounds in actual performance, its effectiveness is rather theatrical than dramatic. Even Coleridge admitted that "these subterraneous speeches of the ghost are hardly defensible." Coleridge, however, undertook to demonstrate the propriety of Hamlet's own share in the scene, and Mr. Bradley (pp. 412-413) gives his reasons for accepting the part taken by the ghost as Shakespearean in spirit, and not merely condescension to the groundlings. I still believe that in the conduct of this part of the scene,

Shakespeare did not feel himself free to depart widely from his original. The four speeches of the ghost beneath the stage, resulting in Hamlet's removal from one side of the stage to the other, have their counterpart in *Fratricide Punished* (Furness ii. 125-126), and hence, in the opinion of some, were a feature of the pre-Shakespearean version. The issue of secrecy is never again raised. Marcellus is no more heard of, and Horatio is the most loyal of confidants. The first oath, "In faith, my lord, not I," was really sufficient. We can, however, see a reason why the ghost should approve of Hamlet's swearing his friends to secrecy: this indicates Hamlet's purpose of undertaking the revenge himself and of carrying it out with his own hand.

But with these minor exceptions, occasioned by the dramatic form and by the established tradition among playgoers, we may look to the words and actions of the ghost as our sole infallible guide in interpreting the play. What indications do these afford?

The ghost's command to Hamlet is threefold (Ransome, *Shakespeare's Plots*, p. 12):

If thou didst ever thy dear father love—

.....

Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder.

But howsoever thou pursuest this act,

.....

Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive

Against thy mother aught.

In the first place, he demands revenge. Is it too much to say that the mere fact of his demanding it is significant? Suppose the ghost had merely *told* Hamlet of the murder, what would have happened? Again, the ghost does not demand immediate revenge, nor does he specify the form. The act may be pursued as Hamlet thinks best. And to Shakespeare's audiences there could be no possible doubt as to the meaning of "revenge." Violent death, at Hamlet's hands, no more and no less, is what the ghost demands. The ingenious theory of Werder, according to which Hamlet's duty was to defer vengeance until he was in a position to convince all Denmark that it was righteously taken, finds no support in the ghost's words. As one of Werder's earliest critics, Baumgart (Furness ii. 392-393), pointed out, the ghost says nothing of unmasking the king, of bringing him to the bar of justice: "It is revenge alone that the ghost calls for, and swift revenge that Hamlet promises." The greater part of the fine-spun argument of Werder is refuted by this simple consideration. And the chief test to be applied to Hamlet's conduct throughout the play is simply, with what degree of efficiency and fidelity does he devote himself to this sacred duty.

The next point in the ghost's command is, "Taint not thy mind." This has, I think, been commonly taken to mean that in pursuing his

revenge, Hamlet is not to behave unworthily, to blemish his character, or perhaps, that he is not to destroy his good name. As Mr. Ransome puts it (p. 12), "the punishment of the murderer was to be effected in such a way that the propriety of Hamlet's conduct in the matter should be evident." According to this interpretation, Hamlet's words (v. ii. 355-356),

O good Horatio, what a wounded name,  
Things standing thus unknown, shall live behind  
me,

may be taken as uttered in distinct remembrance of the ghost's injunction. But this interpretation, which seems to lend support to the mistaken view that Hamlet must publicly demonstrate his uncle's guilt before taking vengeance upon him, I believe to be incorrect. The words, "Taint not thy mind," are immediately connected with those which follow, "Nor let thy soul contrive against thy mother aught." The reference is to the melancholy, occasioned by the disgrace of his mother's incestuous marriage, which has already brought Hamlet to the point of meditating suicide (i. ii. 131-132). This melancholy Hamlet is bidden to overcome. "Do not brood over thy griefs; do not yield to melancholy," is the true meaning of the ghost's words.<sup>3</sup> The conjunc-

<sup>3</sup> This is taking the word "mind" in its most natural and usual sense. The expression, "a tainted mind," would be closely similar to Spenser's expression (*Faerie Queene* iv.



tion "nor" emphasizes the close connection between this part of the command and that which follows, for it is precisely this brooding upon his mother's conduct that might lead him to seek some means of involving her in her husband's punishment. The view which these words really support is not that of Werder, but that of Mr. Bradley. They also afford another test by which to appraise Hamlet's subsequent conduct.

The prohibition of any attempt to punish his mother affords another test of Hamlet's later action, one so easy to apply that nothing further need be said here. The ghost's description of himself as

Cut off even in the blossoms of [his] sin,  
Unhousel'd, disappointed, unanel'd,  
No reckoning made, but sent to [his] account  
With all [his] imperfections on [his] head,

indicates clearly that Hamlet's belief (III. iii. 73 ff.) in the significance of the last occupation of a man suddenly killed is not meant by Shakespeare to pass as pure folly. More will be said of this later on. I agree also with Mr. Bradley (p. 126) that "the Ghost, in fact, had more

i. vii. 4), "her wounded mind," used with reference to Britomart, who is in love with Artegall. The mind may be "tainted" by melancholy, just as it may be "wounded" by love. It also seems more likely that the ghost should be concerning himself with a matter of present importance, than with a future contingency.

reason than we suppose at first for leaving with Hamlet as his parting injunction the command, 'Remember me,' and for greeting him, on re-appearing, with the command, 'Do not forget.'"

Hamlet's conduct from the beginning of the second act is to be examined in the light of the ghost's commands, literally interpreted. His feigning of madness, I should say, may be held to be sanctioned by the ghost's expression, "howsoever thou pursuest this act." But the whole scheme of catching the conscience of the king by means of the play must be pronounced an inexcusable deviation from the path marked out for him. His recognition of the ghost as his father's spirit has been complete. The play is merely a pretext, which enables Hamlet to feel that he is doing *something* relating to his revenge, and thus to excuse himself for putting off his main task. And the result is not simple postponement, for the play catches the king's conscience in a way that Hamlet had not anticipated, and thereby creates a new obstacle to the attainment of revenge. The king is led to feel remorse and to pray. Hamlet, searching for the king in order that he may kill him, finds him at prayer, and spares his life, in order to avoid the possibility of thwarting his vengeance by sending the king to heaven. Hamlet's reasoning, however it may shock modern sensibilities, is not without a certain plausibility, and according to the

moral scheme of an Elizabethan revenge-play, would be perfectly justifiable, provided always that Hamlet were acting on his own responsibility. But Hamlet is not a free agent, and it should not be his to "reason why." To the objection that the ghost's words, "Cut off even in the blossom of my sin," imply an obligation upon Hamlet to kill his uncle in a moment of sin and thereby ensure his eternal damnation, it may be answered that the ghost had also said, "Howsoever thou pursuest this act," and that in the very next scene the ghost reproves Hamlet for his "blunted purpose," a reproof which it is natural to connect directly with Hamlet's failure to seize this particular opportunity. Further, Shakespeare makes it clear that even by his own principle, Hamlet was wrong in not accepting his chance, for this moment of apparent repentance is precisely the moment in which the king has definitely formulated his situation, and has resolved not to act as becomes a repentant man.

The ghost's reappearance should be sufficient evidence that Hamlet's conduct has not been blameless. The repetition of a supernatural command, in Hamlet's case as in that of the prophet Jonah, is proof positive that the person commanded has been remiss. The ghost's words, "I come to whet thy almost blunted purpose," are incompatible with any belief that Hamlet is a "man of action," deferring

his revenge only for reasons of necessity. It is to be noted that although the ghost bids Hamlet calm his mother, "O, step between her and her fighting soul," it does not specifically reprove Hamlet for having upbraided her, nor does it repeat the warning, "Taint not thy mind." If the ghost has nothing further to say upon these points, the reason must be that Hamlet is in need of no further exhortation. It is to be noted likewise that the ghost does not forbid Hamlet's going to England. Now it has been alleged again and again that Hamlet's departure from Denmark seems to imply an abandonment of his purpose; that he should have remained in Elsinore, because only there could his revenge be accomplished. Indeed, it is even urged that this absence from Denmark, at the critical moment of the return of Laertes, is what alone makes possible the subsequent catastrophes: the death of Laertes, of the queen, and of Hamlet himself. But the real causes of these events lie further back, in the sparing of the king at prayer and in the delays and hesitations which preceded this. The departure for England is, as it were, linked with dreadful consequences, but it is not their cause. Hamlet's fault is not that he sets out for England, but that he should have placed himself in a position which made this course necessary. The silence of the ghost should be conclusive. And the necessity of Hamlet's setting out for

England is otherwise apparent. After the killing of Polonius he is placed under guard (iv. iii. 14). His only practical course is that which he actually takes: to leave Denmark quietly with his guards, and to elude them at the first opportunity, once the shores of Denmark have been left behind.

After the third act the ghost does not reappear. The plain inference is that intervention is no longer necessary, that Hamlet's course, reckless as it may seem, particularly to those who wish, like Goethe, to conceive of him as a tender, fragile, or flower-like creature, unfitted to take risks or confront dangers, leads directly to the fulfillment of his task. He feels himself to have the caution, the strength, the resourcefulness, the courage, and the determination to accomplish his purpose. The time of irresolution and delay is past. His words to Horatio, "The interim is mine" (v. ii. 73) are those of a man confident of his mastery of the situation. If he holds a blunted foil in one hand, he holds an unbated dagger in the other. He twice refuses the poisoned cup. He is no longer the hesitating and meditative Hamlet of the second and third acts, but a Hamlet who in a school of bitter experience has learned how to overcome his own weaknesses, and has thus fitted himself for the task of overcoming his enemy. The supernatural judgment of the ghost was not at fault.

The conclusions resulting from this principle of the virtual infallibility of the ghost are in large part not new. Indeed, any comprehensive discussion of Hamlet's conduct which is wholly new can hardly escape being fantastic. My aim has been to emphasize the importance of the words and actions of the ghost as the necessary point of departure for all interpretation of the play, and within due limits, as the final authority in such interpretation. An examination of these words and actions enables us in large measure to discriminate between the conclusions derived from other data. We are enabled to conclude with certainty that Hamlet essentially is not in madness, but mad in craft; that he is not temperamentally unfit for the task assigned him, but a fit instrument of revenge; that his task does not include self-justification or the bringing of the king to public ignominy, but is limited to the attainment of vengeance, a task possible to him only when he shall first have succeeded in overcoming his inclination to melancholy and in banishing from his mind his indignation at his mother's frailty. In the second and third acts we see him fail to carry out the ghost's command, because he has not yet overcome these obstacles. But his efforts at self-mastery have so far availed that the reappearance of the ghost, aided by his own self-reproaches, makes it possible for him to advance thenceforward steadily and surely toward the

goal of his revenge. The lives that seem to be needlessly sacrificed, in the last two acts are the price of Hamlet's previous hesitation and delay. For all this, so far as I can interpret the text, we have the authority of the ghost, which, from the nature of the case, is as much as to say, we have Shakespeare's own authority.

## CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY<sup>1</sup>

BY FRANK THILLY, PH.D., LL.D.

Until quite recently philosophy in America has been closely allied with theology. During the colonial days the colleges were practically training schools for the clergy; the presidents and professors were theologians, and the students entered college in order to prepare themselves for the ministry.<sup>2</sup> Philosophy was in a great measure the handmaiden of theology, as was the case in the Middle Ages. Indeed, even to this day the great majority of the smaller colleges are denominational, and in such schools philosophy is still subservient to theology. It is only in the institutions freed from clerical control and particularly in the larger universities that philosophy is taught without a theological bias.

It was quite natural that in a colony of Great Britain the influence of British systems of thought should have been the preponderant

<sup>1</sup> This article is a revision of a paper which was published in the *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, September, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> BIRDSEYE, *Individual Training in American Colleges*, 1906.



one. We find, among the earlier American teachers and writers of philosophy, followers of Locke and Berkeley, as well as, later on, advocates of the Scottish systems of Reid and his school. All these movements were spiritualistic and antagonistic to scepticism and materialism.<sup>3</sup> The thinkers, however, who were more or less influenced by Locke and Berkeley,—the greatest among them being Jonathan Edwards (†1758),—leaned towards idealism, while those who embraced the Scottish philosophy were common-sense realists. President John Witherspoon, of Princeton College, who came from Scotland in 1768, introduced the Scottish philosophy into the United States, and Princeton has remained the center of this school almost down to the present. Dr. James McCosh, President of Princeton University from 1868 to 1888, was doubtless the ablest exponent of the 'common-sense philosophy' in the land of his adoption. Professor A. T. Ormond, of Princeton, shows the influence of his Scotch predecessor in his writings, but endeavors to reconcile the teachings of his master with the theories of Kant and Lotze.<sup>4</sup>

A reaction against these prevailing currents of thought appeared in so-called Boston Tran-

<sup>3</sup> A materialistic movement, however, sprang up among a large class of scientists outside of the colleges. Cf. RILEY, *American Philosophy. The Early Schools*, 1907.

<sup>4</sup> *Basal Concepts in Philosophy*, 1894; *Foundations of Knowledge*, 1900; *Concepts of Philosophy*, 1906.

scendentalism, the leaders of which were W. E. Channing (1780-1843) and Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882).<sup>5</sup> The movement was idealistic in character; for it mind was the only reality and everything else manifestation of spirit. In the individualistic idealism of Emerson this notion received its most eloquent ethical application and exercised a most salutary influence upon the spiritual life of the new country. This popular form of idealism received its nourishment from the critical philosophy of Kant; not directly however, but partly through the writings of the English poet Coleridge, partly through the works of the French philosopher Cousin, many of which had been translated into English during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. The interest in German speculative philosophy became especially strong, and led in time to a direct study of the works of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. Dr. W. T. Harris (†1909), of St. Louis, in 1867 founded *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, in which were published many translations from the writings of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and which continued to appear until the beginning of the nineties. A further impetus was given to the study of speculative philosophy by the founding of the Concord

<sup>5</sup> FROTHINGHAM, *History of Transcendentalism in New England*, 1876; GODDARD, *Studies in New England Transcendentalism*, 1908.

School of Philosophy, in 1879, by A. Bronson Alcott\* (†1888). During the summer, meetings extending over a period of several weeks were held at Concord, Massachusetts, and lectures on philosophy, literature, and art delivered by leading thinkers, among them being Dr. Harris, President Noah Porter, Professors George S. Morris, John Watson, and G. H. Howison. Another manifestation of the trend towards idealism was the publication of the *German Philosophical Classics* under the editorship of Professor Morris, a series which began to appear in 1881 and embraced the following books: *Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, by G. S. Morris; *Schelling's Transcendental Idealism*, by John Watson; *Fichte's Science of Knowledge*, by C. C. Everett; *Hegel's Aesthetics*, by J. S. Kedney; *Kant's Ethics*, by Noah Porter; *Hegel's Philosophy of State and Philosophy of History*, by G. S. Morris; *Leibniz's New Essays concerning the Human Understanding*, by John Dewey; and *Hegel's Logic*, by W. T. Harris.<sup>7</sup>

Although American Transcendentalism has had very little direct influence upon the present generation of philosophical students in the United States, it did encourage and help to keep

\* SANBORN and HARRIS, *Life and Philosophy of A. Bronson Alcott*, 1893.

<sup>7</sup> A bibliography of the history of American philosophy is given in the tenth edition of UEBERWEG-HEINZE's *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vierter Teil, §63.

alive an interest in speculation and especially in idealism, in a country whose tendencies are so largely practical. The greatest influence exercised upon teachers and writers of philosophy from the idealistic side has come from the English Neo-Hegelians, Thomas Hill Green, the two Cairds, Bosanquet, and Bradley, as well as from the renewed study of the German post-Kantians in the light of their English interpreters. Among the representatives of this modern type of objective idealism, we may mention Professors John Watson,<sup>8</sup> of Queen's College, Canada; Josiah Royce, of Harvard University; J. E. Creighton,<sup>9</sup> W. A. Hammond,<sup>10</sup> and Ernest Albee,<sup>11</sup> of Cornell University; John

<sup>8</sup> Recent works of WATSON are: *Hedonistic Theories from Aristippus to Spencer*, 1895; *Christianity and Idealism*, 1897; *An Outline of Philosophy*, 1898; *The Philosophy of Kant Explained*, 1908; *The Philosophical Basis of Religion*, 1909.

<sup>9</sup> *Introductory Logic*, 2d ed., 1909. See CREIGHTON's articles in *The Philosophical Review*, of which he is the editor: "The Nature of Intellectual Synthesis," vol. vi; "The Standpoint of Experience," vol. xii; "Purpose as Logical Category," vol. xiii; "Thought and Experience," vol. xv; "The Nature and Criterion of Truth," vol. xvii.

<sup>10</sup> Translator of ARISTOTLE's *Psychology* and the *Characters* of THEOPHRASTUS, and author of articles and reviews on Greek and medieval philosophy. See his article on "Logic" in *Congress of Arts and Sciences*, vol. i, 1905.

<sup>11</sup> *A History of English Utilitarianism*, 1902. See his articles in *Phil. Review*: "The Significance of Methodological Principles," vol. xv, no. 3; "Descriptive and Normative Sciences," vol. xvi, no. 2; and "The Present Meaning of Idealism," vol. xviii, no. 3.

Grier Hibben,<sup>12</sup> of Princeton University; A. K. Rogers,<sup>13</sup> of Missouri University; J. A. Leighton,<sup>14</sup> of Ohio State University; Mary W. Calkins,<sup>15</sup> of Wellesley College; and Ellen B. Talbot,<sup>16</sup> of Mt. Holyoke College. Dr. W. T. Harris,<sup>17</sup> formerly United States Commissioner of Education, who for more than fifty years advocated the cause of Hegelianism in America, shows a greater dependence upon the German masters than any of his younger contemporaries. Professor Hugo Münsterberg,<sup>18</sup> of Harvard

<sup>12</sup> *Inductive Logic*, 1896; *The Problems of Philosophy*, 1898; *Hegel's Logic*, 1902; *Logic, Deductive and Inductive*, 1905; *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, 1910. See the articles "The Test of Pragmatism," *Phil. Review*, vol. xvii, no. 4; and "The Philosophical Aspects of Evolution," *Phil. Rev.*, vol. xix, no. 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Introduction to Modern Philosophy*, 1899; *A Student's History of Philosophy*, 1901; *The Religious Conception of the World*, 1907. See articles in *Phil. Review*, especially: "Professor James's Theory of Knowledge," vol. xv, no. 6; "Rationality and Belief," vol. xiii, no. 1; "Scepticism," vol. xiii, no. 6.

<sup>14</sup> *Typical Modern Conceptions of God*, 1901. See the articles in *Phil. Review*: "The Psychological Self and the Actual Personality," vol. xiv, no. 6; "The Objects of Knowledge," vol. xvi, no. 6; "The Final Ground of Knowledge," vol. xvii, no. 4; "Perception and Physical Reality," vol. xix, no. 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Persistent Problems of Philosophy*, 1907; *An Introduction to Psychology*, 1901.

<sup>16</sup> *The Fundamental Principle of Fichte's Philosophy*, 1906.

<sup>17</sup> *Hegel's Logic*, 1890; *Introduction to Philosophy*, 1890; *Psychologic Foundations of Education*, 1898. Dr. Harris was also the editor of *The International Education Series*.

<sup>18</sup> *Grundsätze der Psychologie*, vol. i, 1900; *Psychology and*

University, belongs to the neo-Fichtean school of thinkers represented in Germany, his native land, by Eucken, Windelband, and Rickert. Professor G. H. Howison,<sup>19</sup> of the University of California, adopts the Hegelian method, but teaches a system of personal idealism. His success in arousing an interest in speculation on the Pacific coast, and in attracting able young men to the study of philosophy, has been great. Among well-known pupils, who have also studied with James and Royce, we may mention Professors C. M. Blakewell,<sup>20</sup> of Yale University, and A. O. Lovejoy,<sup>21</sup> of the Johns Hopkins University.

Professor G. T. Ladd,<sup>22</sup> of Yale University,

*Life*, 1899; *Science and Idealism*, 1906; *Philosophie der Werte*, 1908; *The Eternal Values*, 1909; *Psychology and the Teacher*, 1909.

<sup>19</sup> *The Limits of Evolution and Other Essays*, 1901. See also the article in *Congress of Arts and Sciences*, vol. i, 1905: "Philosophy: Its Fundamental Conceptions and its Methods."

<sup>20</sup> *Source Book in Ancient Philosophy*, 1907. See the articles in *Phil. Review*: "The Ugly Infinite and the Good-for-Nothing Absolute," vol. xvi, no. 2; "On the Meaning of Truth," vol. xvii, no. 6; "Idealism and Realism," vol. xviii, no. 5.

<sup>21</sup> "The Thirteen Pragmatisms," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*, vol. v, nos. 1 and 2; "Pragmatism and Realism," *ibid.*, vi, no. 21; "The Obsolescence of the Eternal," *Phil. Rev.*, vol. xviii, no. 5.

<sup>22</sup> *Elements of Physiological Psychology*, 1887; *Introduction to Philosophy*, 1890; *Psychology, Descriptive and Explanatory*, 1894; *The Philosophy of Mind*, 1895; *The Philosophy of Knowledge*, 1897; *A Theory of Reality*, 1899; *The Philosophy of Con-*

who has produced many works of scholarly character in the different branches of philosophy, betrays the influence of Lotze and may be reckoned among the representatives of a later German idealism. There are, according to him, *two* beings, mind and body. But dualism is not the ultimate solution of the problem; nature and body and mind cannot be left by rational mind itself in this condition of separateness; this dualism must be dissolved in some ultimate monistic solution. The Being of the World, of which all particular beings are but parts, must then be so conceived of as that in it can be found the One Ground of all interrelated existences and activities. This one principle is an Other and an Absolute Mind. Professor B. P. Bowne<sup>23</sup> (†1910), of Boston University, is also a pupil of Lotze. Professor C. A. Strong,<sup>24</sup> of Columbia University, presents a system of idealistic monism like Fechner's which does not differ from that set forth in Friedrich Paulsen's *Einleitung in die Philosophie*. Professor W. T. Marvin,<sup>25</sup> of Princeton University, who defines

*duct*, 1902; *The Philosophy of Religion*, 1906; *Knowledge, Life, and Reality*, 1909. The summary of Ladd's theory, given above, is taken from his *Philosophy of Mind*.

<sup>23</sup> *The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer*, 1874; *Metaphysics*, 1882; *Introduction to Psychological Theory*, 1886; *Philosophy of Theism*, 1887; *Principles of Ethics*, 1892; *Theory of Thought and Knowledge*, 1897; *Theism*, 1902.

<sup>24</sup> *Why the Mind has a Body*, 1903.

<sup>25</sup> *Introduction to Systematic Philosophy*, 1903.

his standpoint as rationalistic idealism, has been influenced by recent German thought as represented by Benno Erdmann. President J. G. Schurman,<sup>26</sup> of Cornell University, who founded *The Philosophical Review* and established the Sage School of Philosophy, one of the centers of philosophical study in the United States, has made valuable contributions to the study of Kantian philosophy.

The leading figure in the idealistic school, and perhaps the most thorough student of the history of philosophy in the country, is Josiah Royce. He has written many books which give evidence not only of broad scholarship and speculative capacity, but also of fine literary ability and taste.<sup>27</sup>

Our world of common sense, says Royce, has no fact in it which we cannot interpret in terms of ideas, so that this world is throughout such stuff as ideas are made of. All the reality that we can attribute to our world, in so far as we know and can tell what we mean thereby, becomes an ideal. There is, in fact, a certain

<sup>26</sup> *Kantian Ethics and the Ethics of Evolution*, 1881; *The Ethical Import of Darwinism*, 1888; *Belief in God*, 1890; *Agnosticism and Religion*, 1896.

<sup>27</sup> Among them may be mentioned: *The Religious Aspects of Philosophy*, 1885; *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, 1892; *The Conception of God*, 1897; *Studies of Good and Evil*, 1898; *The World and the Individual*, 2 vols., 1900, 1901; *Outlines of Psychology*, 1902; *Herbert Spencer*, 1904; and *The Philosophy of Loyalty*, 1908.



system of ideas forced upon us by experience, which we have to use as the guide for our conduct. We call it the world of matter. But is there not something yonder that corresponds in fact to this series of experiences in us? Yes, but it is itself a system of ideas outside of our minds but not outside of every mind. If my world yonder is anything knowable at all, it must be in and for itself essentially a mental world. It exists in and for a standard, an universal mind, whose system of ideas simply constitutes the world. Minds I can understand because I am myself a mind. An existence that has no mental attribute is to me wholly opaque. Either a mind yonder or else the unknowable, that is your choice. But nothing absolutely unknowable can exist; the notion of it is nonsense. Everything knowable is an idea, the content of some mind. If capable of being known by a mind, this essence is then already essentially ideal and mental. The real world must be a mind or a group of minds.

But how do I ever reach those ideas of the minds beyond me? In one sense you never *do* or can get beyond your own ideas, nor ought you to wish to do so, because all those other minds that constitute your outer and real world are in essence one with your own self. The whole world is essentially *one* world, and so it is essentially the world of one self and *That art Thou*. The self that *means* the object is iden-

tical with the larger self that possesses the object, just as when you seek a lost idea. This deeper self is the self that knows in unity all truth. There is then but one self, organically, reflectively, consciously inclusive of all selves, and so of all truth. It is the Logos, problem-solver, all-knower. Absolutely the only thing sure from the first about this world is that it is intelligent, rational, orderly, essentially comprehensible, so that all its problems are somehow solved, all its darkest mysteries are known to the Supreme Self. This Self infinitely and reflectively transcends our consciousness, and, therefore, since it includes us, it is at the very least a person, and more definitely conscious than we are; for what it possesses is self-reflecting knowledge, and what is knowledge aware of itself, but consciousness? The natural and spiritual orders, the physical and the moral orders, the divine and the human, the fatal and the free, may, according to Royce, be reconciled on Kant's doctrine of the transcendental or extra-temporal freedom and the temporal necessity of all our actions.

This account of Royce's philosophy is taken from his *Spirit of Modern Philosophy*. In his large systematic work, *The World and the Individual*, the theory is worked out with great detail and applied to the interpretation of the facts of nature and of man. Partly owing to the nature of the problems with which he is

dealing, and partly, perhaps, in order to ward off the criticism of exaggerating the intellectualistic element, Royce places greater emphasis upon the volitional and purposive side of experience in these later volumes than in the earlier presentations of his views. "To be means simply to express, to embody the complete internal meaning of a certain absolute system of ideas,—a system, moreover, which is genuinely implied in the true internal meaning or purpose of every finite form of the idea, however fragmentary." The final form of the idea, the "final object sought when we seek Being, is (1) a complete expression of the internal meaning of the finite idea with which, in any case, we start our quest; (2) a complete fulfilment of the will or purpose partially embodied in this idea; (3) an individual life for which no other can be substituted."

In other words, Royce seeks to escape the charge of intellectualism by emphasizing the active aspect of ideas, and the charge of mysticism, by emphasizing the place of the individual self in the absolute self.<sup>28</sup>

In his *Philosophy of Loyalty*, an eloquent presentation of his ethical theory, Royce deduces the idealistic world-view from the basal moral principle, loyalty to loyalty, that is, loyalty to a cause that makes possible the greatest amount of loyalty or devotion to a cause. My causes

<sup>28</sup> See also Royce's article, "The Reality of the Temporal," *International Journal of Ethics*, April, 1910.

must form a system, they must constitute a single cause, a life of loyalty; they must make universal loyalty possible. Loyalty therefore implies faith in a universal cause, in a highest good, in a highest spiritual value. If this principle is to have any meaning, if it is no mere illusion, there must be a spiritual unity, a unity in which all values are preserved. The principle of loyalty is not only a guide of life, it shows us or reveals to us an eternal all-embracing unity of spiritual life, a being that preserves and upholds truth and goodness. We have here a moral argument for the existence of God, similar to that presented in Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason*.

The system we have described is idealistic in the sense that all our knowledge is of ideas; it is monistic in the sense that there is but one principle of reality; it is spiritualistic in the sense that this principle is mind or idea; it is pantheistic in the sense that all ideas and minds are included in one great mind or system of ideas; it is theistic in the sense that this system is a conscious unity; it is rationalistic in the sense that it assumes categories of thought common to all reason; it is absolutistic in the sense that it sets up an absolute standard of truth.

A strong reaction has set in against this school, and philosophy in America to-day is characterized largely by the attacks which are

being made by different writers upon every one of the positions described above. We get in consequence the movements of realism, immediate or radical empiricism, pragmatism, dualism, and pluralism, according to the different phases of the idealistic world-view singled out for criticism.

One group of thinkers, turning their attention mainly to the question of the nature of knowledge, oppose the idealistic teachings with a neo-realistic philosophy. Some of these, like Professors F. J. E. Woodbridge<sup>29</sup> and W. P. Montague,<sup>30</sup> of Columbia University, and Professor E. B. McGilvary,<sup>31</sup> of the University of Wisconsin, have been much influenced by the teachings

<sup>29</sup> "The Field of Logic," published in *Congress of Arts and Sciences*, vol. i, 1905; also in *Science*, vol. xx, p. 587; "The Problem of Consciousness," in *Studies in Philosophy and Psychology* (the Garman volume), 1906; "Consciousness, the Sense Organs, and the Nervous System," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods* (of which W. is the editor), vol. vi, p. 449; "Perception and Epistemology," in *Essays Philosophical and Psychological* (the James volume), 1908.

<sup>30</sup> "Contemporary Realism and the Problems of Perception," "Current Misconceptions of Realism," *Journal of Philosophy*, vol. iv, 374, 100; "Consciousness a Form of Energy," in the James volume, 1908; "May a Realist be a Pragmatist?" *J. of Phil.*, vol. vi, pp. 460, 485, 543, 561.

<sup>31</sup> "Pure Experience and Reality," *Phil. Review*, vol. xvi, no. 3; "The Stream of Consciousness;" "Prolegomena to a Tentative Realism;" "The Physiological Argument against Realism;" "Realism and the Physical World;" all in vol. iv of *J. of Phil.*, pp. 225, 449, 589, 683; "Experience and its Inner Duplicity," *J. of Phil.*, vol. vi, p. 225.

of natural science and the doctrine of evolution. They direct their attacks mainly against the phenomenistic and spiritualistic phases of idealism, and emphasize the reality and primacy of the surrounding world. According to Woodbridge natural science has steadily tended to decrease the importance of man and his philosophizing about the world. In evolution there is no mind as an end-term whose relations eventuate in consciousness. There are rather processes of various sorts undergoing continual reorganization until, at last, they become conscious and understand the conditions out of which they grew, learn their own history and genesis, and thus awake to the conviction that consciousness is not something original, but derived. How does the question, "How does the mind know the world?" have significance when you are asking the question, "How does the world evolve to consciousness of itself?" The more clearly the concepts of evolution are understood, the more impossible the traditional idealistic approach to philosophy appears to be. Consciousness is not an end-term in a relation, but a relation itself. A conscious inquiry into what we may be conscious of exhibits a great variety of things grouped in various ways and having various relations to one another. Some general types of relation stand out more prominently than others, *e.g.*, spatial and temporal relations. These relations hold things together.

But a thing may suggest another thing, it may mean the other thing without encompassing the distance, so that the relation of meaning is just as much a *relation between* things as is space and time. The relations of meaning are capable of remarkable systematization, synthesis, condensation, and unification, and this takes place apparently without any corresponding change in the other relations which subsist. Here we find the motive, so prominent in philosophy, for making meanings immaterial; some of the relations make possible a material synthesis of things, while one of the relations makes possible an immaterial synthesis.

Consciousness then is a relation of meaning. The character of "awareness" which is ascribed to consciousness is nothing but the manifold and irresistible meaning-connections which the things in the conscious situation have. Reality as known is to be set over against reality unknown or independent of knowledge, not as image to original, idea to thing, phenomena to noumena; but reality as known is a new stage in the development of reality itself. It is not an external mind which knows reality by means of its own ideas, but reality itself becomes known through its own expanding and readjusting processes. The addition of knowledge to a reality hitherto without it, is simply an addition to it and not a transformation of it. The things are not ideas representing other things outside

of consciousness, but real things, which, by being in consciousness, have the capacity of representing *each other*, of standing for or implying each other.

This view bases itself upon an evolutionistic metaphysics. We may define it as a dogmatic realism. It assumes a real world and it assumes that we can know that real world. But knowledge is not, as for the old realism, a copy or representation of the real world; the object of vision, for example, is not a modification of consciousness, but the real thing; in consciousness reality becomes directly known. The world out there is the true reality, consciousness is a phase in its development which adds no quality to it by arising. "Add consciousness to the world of science, and then meaning is added, but nothing else." But what is this consciousness? Woodbridge's answer is, as yet, vague, indefinite, and obscure. Unwilling to regard it as a thing, unwilling also to conceive it as a relating activity, and yet unable to ignore it, he calls it a relation between things. Just what this phrase means it is hard to discover; it reminds one of the Pythagorean doctrine of number. What Woodbridge ought to say and what his descriptions really suggest is that consciousness *relates* things, *means* things, that things mean other things *to consciousness*. Another difficulty that confronts him and of which he is aware, but which he does not succeed in remov-



ing, follows from his attempt to restrict all qualities to his real world. In adding consciousness do we not also add feelings and secondary qualities, not to speak of volitions and images and concepts? Meaning is something more than a mere relation between things, and consciousness is more than a relation of meaning.

Other realists, like Professors A. E. Taylor,<sup>22</sup> formerly of McGill University, Montreal, now of St. Andrews, Scotland, and Norman Smith,<sup>23</sup> of Princeton University, while rejecting subjective idealism and holding that we become directly aware of reality as it is, in knowledge, are unwilling to reduce thinking to an "effect, a product, possibly a structure, like digesting and blossoming," as Woodbridge feels inclined to do. In them the reaction against idealism does not reach the point of degrading consciousness to an intermittent phase in the process of evolution. According to Taylor the real Copernican revolution in philosophy has been made by Avenarius rather than by Kant. The starting-point for a theory of knowledge, he says, is not the existence of stimuli, but the existence

<sup>22</sup> *The Problem of Conduct*, 1901; *Elements of Metaphysics*, 1903; *Plato*, 1908.

<sup>23</sup> *Studies in Cartesian Philosophy*, 1902. See his article in *Phil. Review*, vol. xvii, no. 2: "Subjectivism and Realism in Modern Philosophy."—Professor G. S. Fullerton, of Columbia University, is an empirical realist of the pre-Kantian type. See his *System of Metaphysics*, 1904, and *Introduction to Philosophy*.

of a multitude of apprehended objects, colors, tones, bodies, concepts, feelings, emotions, volitions, etc. On inspection this aggregate is found to fall into two minor mutually exclusive aggregates, that of 'mental' states or processes, and that of extra-mental things. The peculiar characteristic of the members of the mental aggregate is that any proposition asserting their existence can be replaced, without change of meaning, by one which asserts a predicate of the knowing subject itself. This is not true of the aggregate of the extra-mental. When I experience blue, it is not I who am blue, but some presented object other than the experiencing 'I'. Now the extra-mental, as thus defined, includes not only bodies and their perceived qualities, but all so-called 'mental images,' 'ideas,' 'concepts.' None of these are what they have too often been called, 'states of mind;' their predicates are fundamentally different from those of the processes in which they are apprehended. They are, in fact, objects experienced, not processes of experiencing. What, then, are the mental processes involved in cognition? The sole ultimate cognitive process of which we know is belief, or judgment, and it is of processes of judging, not of 'ideas,' that knowledge is built up. Perception is, *e.g.*, properly, simply the assertion of an existential proposition which includes in its meaning a reference to present time and to a determinate region

of space. The cognitive process thus takes its place by the side of the other forms of the Yes-No attitude of mind towards its objects, which it is the function of psychology to study. There is no reason to believe in the existence of any simpler or more ultimate mental processes corresponding directly to the action of stimuli on the organs.

To know is not to put extra-mental things into certain relations, but to affirm that they *are* so related. Two general corollaries may be appended. (1) A sound philosophy has to start with concessions both to dualism and to pluralism. Both the contrast between the I-element and the extra-mental elements in the world of the experienced, and the plurality of I-elements, or knowers, appear among its data, and cannot be simply suppressed in its result. The real difficulty is not to see how there can be a reality 'behind' 'phenomena,' but how any element in the real presented world can be mere 'appearance.' (2) Of existing doctrines that which approximates most closely to the truth is probably the monadism of Leibniz, though it is clear that some of the logical postulates of monadism must be false, since they lead to the view that the physical world is made up of distinct and independent causal series, and there is good reason to regard this conclusion as untrue.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> This account of Taylor's theory is his own summary of a paper read at the Cornell meeting of the American Philo-

These neo-realistic writers are mainly opposed to the phenomenalistic teachings of idealism. Another group of thinkers direct their attacks against the idealistic *criterion* of knowledge, and set up a practical standard of truth. The chief representatives of this school, which has a large following and goes by the name of pragmatism, are Professor William James,<sup>35</sup> of Harvard University, and Professor John Dewey, of Columbia University. Professor James is a thinker of original insight, particularly in the field of psychology, a brilliant writer, and a teacher of great personal charm. Although his philosophical theories have met with lively opposition, he has succeeded in arousing an enthusiastic interest in the study of philosophy among a wide circle of educated Americans. He occupies a central position in modern American thought, and nearly all our philosophical writers find it necessary to try conclusions with him.<sup>36</sup> I

sophical Association in 1907. See "Report of Proceedings," *Phil. Review*, vol. xvii, no. 2.

<sup>35</sup> *The Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols., 1890; *The Will to Believe and Other Essays*, 1897; *Human Immortality*, 1898; *Talks to Teachers on Psychology*, 1899; *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902; *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*, 1907; *A Pluralistic Universe*, 1909; *The Meaning of Truth: A Sequel to Pragmatism*, 1909.

<sup>36</sup> The philosophical periodicals of this country and Europe have been full of articles and reviews supporting and attacking the 'new philosophy,' and a number of books have been written on the subject, among them two by American professors: PRATT, *What is Pragmatism?* and SCHINZ, *Anti-Pragmatism*. See my articles on "Philosophy" in the *New International Year Book* of 1908 and 1909.

shall present his views as expressed in his book on *Pragmatism*.

Truth in science, he declares, is what gives us the maximum possible sum of satisfactions, taste included, but consistency both with previous truth and novel fact is always the most imperious claimant. The 'true' is only the expedient in the way of our thinking just as the right is only the expedient in the way of our behaving. Expedient in almost any fashion; and expedient in the long run and on the whole of course; for what meets expediently all the experience in sight won't necessarily meet all farther experience equally satisfactorily. The first part of reality is the flux of our sensations. Sensations are forced upon us coming we know not whence. Over their nature, order, and quantity we have as good as no control. They are neither true nor false; they simply ARE. The second part of reality is the RELATIONS that obtain between our sensations or between their copies in our minds. There are relations that are mutable and accidental, as those of date and place; and those that are fixed and essential because they are grounded on the inner nature of their terms. Both sets of relations are matters of immediate perception. Both are 'facts.' But the inner relations are 'eternal,' are perceived whenever their sensible terms are compared; and of them our thought must eternally take account. The third part of reality is the

previous truths of which every new inquiry takes account. We have a certain freedom in our dealing with these realities. *That* they are is beyond our control; but which we attend to, note, and make emphatic in our conclusions depends on our interests. Both the sensational and relational parts of reality are dumb; they say absolutely nothing about themselves. We it is who have to speak for them. When we speak of reality 'independent' of human thinking, it seems a thing very hard to find. It reduces to the notion of what is just entering into experience and yet to be named, or else to some imagined aboriginal presence in experience, before any belief about the presence had arisen, before any human conception had been applied. It is what is absolutely dumb and evanescent, the merely ideal limit of our minds. The stubborn fact remains that there *is* a sensible flux, but what is *true of it* seems from first to last largely a matter of our own creation. On the pragmatist side we have only one edition of the universe, unfinished, growing in all sorts of places, especially in the places where thinking beings are at work. On the rationalistic side we have a universe in many editions, one real one, the infinite folio, or *edition de luxe*, eternally complete; and then the various finite editions, full of false readings, distorted and mutilated, each in its own way. Behind the bare phenomenal facts there is *nothing*. When a rationalist

insists that behind the facts there is the *ground* of the facts, the *possibility* of the facts, he takes the mere name and nature of a fact and claps it behind the fact as a duplicate entity to make it possible.

Can we treat the absolute edition of the world as a legitimate hypothesis? If the notion of a world *ante rem*, whether taken abstractly like the word winter, or concretely as the hypothesis of an Absolute, can be shown to have any consequences whatever for our life, it has a meaning. If the meaning *works*, it will have *some* truth that ought to be held to through all possible reformulations, for pragmatism. The absolutistic hypothesis, that perfection is eternal, aboriginal, and most real, has a perfectly definite meaning, and it works religiously.

But the pluralistic way agrees with the pragmatic temper best. The world is pluralistically constituted, it really exists distributively and is made up of a lot of eaches; it can only be saved piece-meal and *de facto* as the result of their behavior. Countless human imaginations live in this moralistic and epic kind of universe, and find its disseminated and strung-along successes sufficient for their rational needs. On pragmatic principles, if the hypothesis of God works satisfactorily in the widest sense of the word, it is true. Experience shows that it certainly does work. The problem is to build it out and determine it so that it will combine satisfac-

torily with all the other working truths. James firmly disbelieves that our human experience is the highest form of experience extant in the universe. We may well believe, he declares, on the proofs that religious experience affords, that higher powers exist and are at work to save the world on ideal lines similar to our own. Pragmatism can be called religious, if you allow that religion can be pluralistic or merely melioristic in type. But pragmatism has to postpone dogmatic answer, for we do not yet know certainly which type of religion is going to work best in the long run.

There is much in this philosophy of James that reminds one of idealism. The starting point of our knowledge is the flux of our sensations, a sensible flux, the stuff that is furnished us in the instant field of the present, the absolutely dumb and evanescent, the merely ideal limit of our minds. This is called pure experience; over its nature, order, and quantity we have no control; whence it comes we know not, but we are told that behind the bare phenomenal facts there is nothing. All this sounds like an overture to subjective idealism. This is not all, however. There are also relations between these sensations, both accidental and eternal relations between these aboriginal elements of our experience; that is, the sensible flux is an ordered and related flux, and not a chaotic experience. Then again there are also relations be-



tween the copies of these sensations in our minds. But both the sensational and relational parts of reality are dumb; they say absolutely nothing about themselves. At the same time the relations are matters of immediate perception, they are facts, and the inner or eternal relations are perceived whenever their sensible terms are compared. In other words, we seem to know the relations and know them as they are. There is a given reality which we can know as it is, in its eternal relations. That certainly smacks of objective idealism. But we are not done yet. Relations among purely mental ideas, James goes on to tell us, form another sphere where true and false beliefs obtain, and here the beliefs are absolute or unconditional. Truth here has an eternal character. Our ready-made ideal frame work for all sorts of possible objects follows from the very structure of our thinking. We can no more play fast and loose with these abstract relations than we can do so with our sense experience. They coerce us, we must treat them consistently, whether or not we like the results. Our ideas must agree with realities, be such realities concrete or abstract. Here we come pretty close to the *a priori* categories of the rationalists, and our suspicions are increased when we read in James's articles that these principles are "now a part of the very structure of our mind" and that they have been "long ago wrought into the structure of our consciousness."

In the face of all these statements the pragmatic element in James's philosophy sounds innocent enough, though it may not always be consistent with them. Though "the stubborn fact remains that there is a sensible flux, but what is *true of it* seems from first to last to be largely a matter of our own creation," and though "the world stands really malleable, waiting to receive its final touches at our hands," we cannot play fast and loose with it; there seems to be something absolute about it, and there seems to be something absolute about our own contribution to it. It is true, James also sets up expediency as the test of truth, but the doctrine loses its force when taken in connection with all that has gone before. Besides, to be true a truth must not only work, it must be consistent both with previous truth and novel fact. Truth must hang together, it must form a system. "It works because it is true and it is true because it works." Here too James appears to abandon the strictly pragmatic position, or at least to supplement it.

In his book on *The Meaning of Truth*, which is for the most part a collection of articles published before, James explains the charge of 'subjectism' as a misunderstanding of his critics, and declares himself to be an epistemological realist. "My account of truth is realistic," he says, "and follows the epistemological dualism of common sense." "This

notion of a reality independent of either of us [you or me], taken from ordinary social experience, lies at the base of the pragmatist definition of truth." "If the reality assumed were cancelled from the pragmatist's universe of discourse, he would straightway give the name of falsehoods to the beliefs remaining, in spite of all their satisfactoriness. For him, as for his critic, there can be no truth if there is nothing to be true about. Ideas are so much flat psychological surface unless some mirrored matter gives them cognitive lustre. This is why as a pragmatist I have carefully posited 'reality' *ab initio* and why, throughout my whole discussion, I remain an epistemological realist." It is not always made perfectly clear, however, in James's account, just what is meant by 'reality;' in the sense that there can be no knowledge without an object about which that knowledge is, every idealist is a realist. Confusion has been caused in the minds of our philosopher's critics by their exaggeration of his pragmatic notion of truth and their failure to note that it does not tell the whole story. Our 'satisfactions' can yield objective truth because "the ideas which they accompany 'correspond' to the assumed reality, 'agree' with it, and 'fit' it in perfectly definite and assignable ways', through the sequent trains of thought and action which form their verification." For this confusion James himself is not

wholly free from blame; indeed, the very name of *pragmatism*, and the undue emphasis laid upon the 'cash-value' of truth are responsible for many misunderstandings.

In *Pragmatism*, James's main problem is the *criterion of knowledge*; in *The Meaning of Truth*, it is the *nature or meaning of knowledge*; in *A Pluralistic Universe*, it is the *methods and results of knowledge*. In each work he attacks what he conceives to be the teaching of idealism and offers his own solution of the basal problems: he is a pragmatist, a realist, a radical empiricist, and a pluralist. The last-named book repudiates the aprioristic or rationalistic methods and monistic conclusions of the idealists, and espouses the cause of "pluralistic empiricism," which had already been advocated in *Pragmatism*. "The line of least resistance, then, as it seems to me, both in theology and philosophy, is to accept, along with the superhuman consciousness, the notion that it is not all-embracing, the notion, in other words, that there is a God, but that he is finite, either in power or in knowledge, or in both at once." "Reality *may* exist in distributive form, in the shape not of an all but of a set of eaches, just as it seems to." This world may be "a universe only strung along, not rounded in and closed." The monistic or absolutistic pantheist holds to the timeless universe eternally complete, the pluralistic or empirical pantheist to the unfinished pluralistic universe.

There is no great difference between James's pragmatism and Dewey's functionalism. Both make practical consequences, usefulness, or satisfaction, or efficiency, the criterion of truth, and both speak in somewhat vague and general terms of this criterion. Dewey, however, emphasizes the practical origin of thinking and of consciousness in general; thought is useful and owes its existence to its utility, to the fact that it satisfies human needs. But he too betrays the influence of the idealistic school to which he formerly belonged, by including in this satisfaction an intellectual satisfaction in the harmony or unity of experience.

Dewey<sup>27</sup> has been more successful than any other American thinker in gaining a united following for his teachings and forming a philosophical 'school.' As professor of philosophy and education in the University of Chicago, from which position he was called to Columbia University in 1904, he exercised a most stimulating influence upon his colleagues and students, prominent among whom were: Professors A. W. Moore,<sup>28</sup> G. M. Mead, J. A. Angell (who applies

<sup>27</sup> *Psychology*, 1886; *Ethics*, 1891; *Leibniz's New Essays Concerning Human Understanding*, 1886; *Studies in Logical Theory*, 1903; (with J. H. Tufts) *Ethics*, 1908; *How we Think*, 1910; *The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy, and Other Essays*, 1910.

<sup>28</sup> Articles in *J. of Phil.*: "The Function of Thought," vol. iii, p. 519; "Truth Value," vol. v, p. 429; in *Phil. Rev.*: "Pragmatism and its Critics," vol. xiv, p. 322; "Absolutism and Teleology," vol. xviii, p. 389.

the functionalistic theory in psychology<sup>39</sup>), and I. King<sup>40</sup> (who applies it in education and religion). Professor J. H. Tufts,<sup>41</sup> of Chicago, although he has been influenced by the teachings of this school, has never definitely committed himself to them, and seems still inclined to idealism. In the *Studies in Logical Theory*, which appeared in 1903, Dewey and his adherents (Miss Thompson, MacLennan, Moore, Ashley, Gore, Stuart) have presented a serious and detailed account of the logical doctrines of the new school. This work is, as Professor Pringle-Pattison has said, a striking evidence of the moulding influence of Professor Dewey upon his pupils and coadjutors in the Chicago School of Philosophy.

For Dewey immediate experience is the starting point; it is the matrix out of which reflective or logical thinking develops and into which it resolves itself again. Immediate empiricism postulates that things,—anything, everything in the ordinary or non-technical use of the term 'thing,'—are what they are experienced as. Thought is not something pure, absolute, or by itself,— whose occupation is to mirror or

<sup>39</sup> *Psychology*, 1904.

<sup>40</sup> *The Psychology of Child Development*, 1903; *The Development of Religion*, 1910.

<sup>41</sup> Translator of WINDELBAND's *History of Philosophy*; author of *The Sources and Development of Kant's Teleology*, 1892; and (with John Dewey) of *Ethics*, 1908.

represent an independently complete and self-existent world of reality,—it is a function among others arising in the course of experience, and has for its sole purpose the transformation, reconstruction, or re-organization of experience. Thinking owes its origin to its need, it arises because and when it is needed. Since knowledge appears as a function within experience, and yet passes judgment upon both the processes and contents of other functions, its work and aim must be distinctively reconstructive or transformatory. Since reality must be defined in terms of experience, judgment appears accordingly as the medium through which the consciously effected evolution of reality goes on. There is no reasonable standard of truth (or of success of the knowing function) in general, except upon the postulate that reality is dynamic or self-evolving, and, in particular, through reference to the specific offices which knowing is called upon to perform in readjusting and expanding the means and ends of life. There is always antecedent to thought an experience of some subject-matter of the physical or social world, or organized intellectual world, whose parts are actively at war with each other,—so much so that they threaten to disrupt the entire experience, which accordingly for its own maintenance requires deliberate re-definition and re-relation of its tensional parts. The test of

thought is the harmony or unity of experience actually effected.<sup>43</sup>

I stated at the beginning of this account of the different movements in American philosophical thought of to-day, that it was largely a reaction against the dominant school of idealism. But it is plain that idealism is still a potent influence with us, that the opponents of the 'old truths' find it hard to drive the rejected teachings entirely out of their blood. Some of the objections urged against the school are based upon a false conception of latter-day idealism.<sup>44</sup> Nearly all the dissenters interpret it in the sense of subjective idealism: *esse is percipi*; everything that is perceived is a modification of consciousness. The new realists reject this notion: for them the object perceived is not a modification of consciousness, but the real thing; there is an extra-mental reality, which either becomes directly aware of itself in the course of the process of evolution or of which knowing consciousnesses become aware. With much of this the modern idealist can agree: he too repudiates subjective idealism; for him too there is an extra-mental reality; but this extra-mental, super-individual reality he con-

<sup>43</sup> This account of Dewey's theory is drawn from the *Studies in Logical Theory*.—The *Ethics* of Dewey and Tufts is a happy synthesis of evolutionism, utilitarianism, and the teachings of Thomas Hill Green.

<sup>44</sup> See the article by Professor E. H. HOLLANDS in the *Phil. Rev.*, vol. xvii, no. 5, on "Neo-Realism and Idealism."



ceives either, with Hegel and Green, as universal reason, or less definitely, with the younger thinkers, as a system of relations. And he will have no fault to find with the *epistemological* realism of the pragmatist except in so far as it seems to him to degenerate into sensationalism and subjectivism. He insists against pragmatist and realist alike that 'reality's true shape' is an organized spiritual system; whether he accepts the label or not, he is a metaphysical spiritualistic realist. He will not admit the proposition of the pragmatist that "reality if not irrational is at least non-rational in its constitution;" for him it is rational through and through. It is true, the modern idealist is a monist; but he does not conceive his monism as excluding pluralism,—as witness Green and Royce;—whether it is logically possible or not, he will attempt to have them both.

As regards the problems of the origin and method of knowledge, we discover aprioristic and rationalistic elements in both pragmatists<sup>44</sup> and realists;<sup>45</sup> indeed, we are constantly reminded of Kantian philosophy in reading the writings of these men. James, to be sure, tells us<sup>46</sup> that we must go behind the conceptual function

<sup>44</sup> See this article, pp. 511 f.

<sup>45</sup> See Taylor's paper on "The Relations between Metaphysics and the Other Sciences," in *Congress of Arts and Sciences*, vol. i, pp. 227-245, and Woodbridge's articles already cited.

<sup>46</sup> In *A Pluralistic Universe*.

altogether and look to the more primitive flux of the sensational life for reality's true shape, and that philosophy is more a matter of passionate vision than of logic; but we are told<sup>47</sup> also that truth has an eternal character, that our ready-made ideal frame work for all sorts of possible objects follows from the very structure of our thinking; and these are statements taken out of the idealist's own mouth. As for the pragmatic criterion of knowledge, it has, as I have already pointed out, taken into itself so much of the idealistic conception as to be, indeed, in many respects, only "a new name for some old ways of thinking."

<sup>47</sup> In *Pragmatism*.









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